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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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LI PENG ON SELECTION, SUPERVISION OF CHINESE STUDENTS ABROAD

Beijing ZHONGGUO GAODENG JIAOYU [CHINA'S HIGHER EDUCATION] in Chinese
No 7, 13 Jul 86 pp 2-6

[Article by Li Peng [2621 7720], Minister in Charge of the State Education Commission: "Some Issues Concerning the Reform and Development of Higher Education"]

[Excerpt] III. Improving and Strengthening the Selection and Supervision of Chinese Students Going Abroad for Study

For several years, China has sent many students abroad or allowed students to travel abroad through their own financing. Overall results have been good as students learn foreign advanced technology and management and become scientists and specialists. The vast majority of these students love our socialist fatherland and bring international recognition to China as they have excelled in their studies and made outstanding contributions in their respective fields. By devoting themselves to reconstruction programs upon returning from abroad, more and more have become well established in their careers and become leaders in the educational or research units to which they belong. Practice has shown that sending students abroad in various ways accords fully with our open policy and completely suits the requirements of the four modernizations. Therefore we must hold to this policy for the indefinite future, contrary to rumors that the government will change or terminate it. These rumors serve only to mislead the people.

Certain problems, however, do exist regarding the selection and supervision of students sent abroad. The most important are that the present plan to send students abroad does not adequately meet the needs of China's reconstruction, and that supervision over these students is inadequate. We must arrive at realistic solutions for these problems by formulating policies and measures from the basis of an overall review of experience. To be specific: students sent abroad must be those needed by China's four modernizations program, who meet China's production, scientific research, and personnel training needs, so as to enable us to solve problems in research and production and increase our capacity to train advanced, specialized personnel. The work of sending people to study abroad should aim at the fokllowing: students must be sent on a need basis, quality control must be exercised, and there must be unanimity of learning and application. Then, upon completion of their studies abroad, returning students should be given the opportunity to apply what they have learned without undue pressure so as to contribute to the reconstruction of the fatherland.

Many of our institutions of higher education are now capable of training graduate students, such that from now on, training of graduate students should for the most part be done here in China. State selection of students for study abroad, therefore, should focus predominantly on advanced students and scholars. We will not send undergraduate students abroad, except for those studying languages or other specialized subjects. Our government may establish joint doctoral programs with foreign universities to enable us not only to absorb advanced foreign technology but also to more rapidly recruit and train scientists and specialists domestically.

We must establish stricter ideological requirements for our students abroad. Emphasis must be placed upon their pursuit of patriotism and communist education, and besides studying diligently, they must be encouraged to devote themselves to our reconstruction, so that they can become engaged in relevant programs upon returning. We must settle the students more suitably upon their return and, in addition, help them to understand the domestic situation and policies that the party has set forth. In the meantime, the students can be encouraged to learn from their predecessors who upon returning from abroad had much more difficulty launching their careers. And they can be encouraged to work with colleagues in their units to create new conditions and carry out tasks.

Sending students abroad with private financing is another means to train and develop personnel that we should pursue. We must treat these students the same as we do state-supported students: we must show them the same concern and see that they enjoy the same living and study conditions.

CSO: 4005/68

LIAOWANG VIEWS 'ADMINISTRATIVE INTERFERENCE'

HK240513 Beijing LIAOWANG in Chinese No 36, 8 Sep 86 p 33

[Commentary: "Effect a Radical Cure of 'The Disease of Administrative Interference'"]

[Text] China's first enterprise to be given a specific grace period to consolidate before being declared bankrupt, has managed to avoid bankruptcy. This is a gratifying piece of news. But, after carefully reading the news, we can but ponder further how to approach the point at issue. If the enterprise "fails to save a desperate situation" and really goes broke, what responsibility should the "mothers-in-law" who interfered with and brought enterprise down bear in such a situation? If in the future "mothers-in-law" who suffered from "the disease of administrative interference" have a relapse and start to interfere with the enterprise again, who can guarantee that this recovered factory will not repeat the tragedy of being on the verge of bankruptcy?

"The Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Reform of the Economic Structure" adopted by the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee explicitly points out: The enterprise should be truly turned into a relatively independent producer and handler of socialist commodities, that is independent and responsible for its own profit and loss. This is the orientation of reform. If an enterprise acts according to this decision, but still suffers losses and goes bankrupt due to its incapability, it has only itself to blame. If an enterprise suffers losses and goes bankrupt due mainly to interference imposed by higher administrative authorities, as in the case of Wuhan Radio Factory No 3, how can we ask the daughter-in-law alone to drink the bitter wine brewed by her "mother-in-law"? Today as a bankruptcy law is about to be promulgated, it is very natural for people to raise this question.

It is not our intention to say that interference by government and administrative departments in the way enterprises are run can be discarded completely. Interference in terms of macroeconomic control, by using indicrect means of economic levels, and in line with economic laws and legal procedures is still necessary. The point at present is that blind and unauthorized interference has reached epidemic proportions and become a disease. It can affect the economic results of an enterprise in slight cases and cause the enterprise to go broke in serious cases. Here lies the gravity of the problem.

China has carried out a highly centralized and unified planned commodity economy for quite some time, in which administrative means have become the principal measures to lead economic work. Here lies the root cause of the epidemic multiplication of "administrative interference disease." As an effect of the disease, an extremely abnormal phenomenon between leading departments and enterprises has emerged: Those in responsibility have not done any solid work, while those who have done practical work cannot take charge of a department or enterprise. Those who have the decisionmaking power in their hands do not assume any responsibility for the fate of their enterprises, and those who run risks for the fate of enterprises do not have any power to make decisions. Some administrative department leaders without production knowledge and unfamiliar with enterprise affairs, assigned impractical tasks and set impractical output targets for enterprises while sitting in their offices making arbitrary "decisions," and thus making the enterprises confused and exhausted. When an enterprise has bad luck, suffers losses, and even goes broke, they will beat the enterprise on the "buttocks" using their "birches" and investigate and affix "leadership responsibility" to their subordinates. Consequently, when anything happens, enterprise leaders dare not take independent responsibility and they immerse themselves in reporting to their higher-ups for instructions, and act according to the latter's facial expression. If people lead production with this mental outlook, how can they talk about bringing prosperity to the enterprises?

Leaders of some administrative departments think that as "mothers-in-law," not to meddle in enterprise operations signifies an abandonment of authority and derelection of duty. They are always worried about the enterprises, thinking that if they do not meddle in the affairs of enterprises, the latter will be "off the rails". They are reluctant to abandon the right to interfere. Sometimes they did delegate some decisionmaking power to their subordinates but immediately withdrew it. There are still some leading comrades who seek private gain by abusing their power to interfere, picking up crumbs from the enterprises, and "moving troops" as they please. This kind of interference is most harmful and counterproductive. It is not tolerated by party discipline and state laws and must, among other things, be cured once and for all.

"The disease of administrative interference" is a chronic and stubborn disease. To effect a radical cure, it will not do to use the method of treating the head when the head aches and treating the foot when the foot hurts. Similarly it will not be sufficient to only take limited power-expansion measures. Only when the old management system is reformed can this chronic and stubborn disease be cured. The task of utmost importance at present is to reform the management system under which no distinction is made between the functions of government andthose of the enterprise, to change the functions of administrative and management departments, and to remove administrative companies, transfer their personnel, and if necessary suspend their financial allocations. In addition, efforts should also be made to introduce the use of legal means in managing economic activities so that the enterprises' economic interests are protected by law and people contracting "administrative

interference disease" will find no way to interfere even if they want to. Those who have arbitrarily interfered with and brought losses to enterprises should be investigated and held legally responsible, so that they also may taste the bitter wine they brewed. Otherwise, the desired results cannot be attained.

As early as 1980, in his speech "On Reform of the Party and State Leadership System," Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Our leading organs at various levels have taken charge of many matters that they cannot and should not handle, or cannot handle efficiently. These matters could have been easily handled by the enterprises, institutions, and communities at grass-roots level, provided we had proper rules and regulations and they acted according to the principles of democratic centralism. Difficulties have arisen from the custom of referring all these things to leading organs and central departments of the party and government. No one is so versatile that he can take on any number of complex and unfamiliar jobs. This can be said to be one of the main causes of the bureaucracy peculiar to us today."

An enterprise has its own independent operational laws. Since cadres and workers are familiar with their enterprises, so long as they are entrusted with responsibility, authority, and benefit, they can run their enterprises completely well with full responsibility. Even if some problems crop up, they will be able to solve them with concerted efforts. There is no need for the "mothers-in-law" to take the enterprise's jobs into their own hands. That the Wuhan Radio Factory No 3 managed to break through the "line of death" is a most convincing proof.

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CSO: 4005/092

GUANGMING RIBAO ON MASSES, LEADERS AS MAKERS OF HISTORY

HK230707 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 10 Sep 86 p 3

[Article by Zhu Maxim [2612 7456 9515]: "A Brief Talk on the Implication of 'The Masses of the People Are the Makers of History'"]

[Text] Following "On the Making of History and Other Questions," Comrade Li Shu has published "More on the Making of History and Other Questions" (GUANGMING RIBAO 31 Jul 86 p 3), in which he persists in his view that "the masses of people are the makers of history" is an erroneous topic violating the original meaning of classical writers and the principle of historical materialism. The reason Comrade Li Shu's view is rather difficult for comrades of the academic circles to accept lies perhaps in the fact that Comrade Li Shu's understanding of this topic departs from its correct implication. Hence, his wrong judgment on the topic. I would like to air some of my preliminary views in discussion with Comrade Li Shu and other comrades who are interested in this topic.

1. No Contradictions Exist Between the Two Formulations

There is no conflict between the formulation "the masses of people are the makers of history" and "it is the people who are the makers of their own history," as Marx put it ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol I p 603). These two formulations aim at different issues in answer to the question that mankind "makes history" from different theoretical layers, but logically, no contradictions exist between them.

How should we understand the implication of the statement that "it is the people who are the makers of their own history"? We may understand it from various angles. One explanation focuses on the question of who is included in the "people" making history. The term "people" covers a rather wide range, referring largely to all people. "People" may be classified in various ways, the most usual classification being the division between the leaders and the masses. Based on the inference of formal logic, as leaders and the masses are all included in the people, both the leaders and the masses are "makers of history." This is the basic concept to which Comrade Li Shu adheres in both his articles. At the same time, he further believes that the Marxists of the 19th century headed by Plekhanov, stressed that "the masses of people

are makers of history," while the Russian populists stressed that "heroes are the makers of history," and that the two disputing parties committed the same mistake of "sticking to their arguments and suffering from one-sidedness and non-conformity with facts."

As both the masses and heroes are the "makers of history," was the debate between the Russian Marxists and the populists insignificant? No. The essence of the debate between the Russian Marxists and the populists was not the question of whether to acknowledge that the masses and the heroes were performing in the same historical arena, but who took the main and the start role in the play; and this is the question of who, between the masses and the heroes, are the "masters of history" referred to by Comrade Fan Wenlan. That is dealing with the question from another angle under the premise that the general topic "The People Are Makers of Their Own History" is acknowledged. The regret is that neither Plekhanov nor the populists explained the essence of their debate as accurately as we do today. The editor of "A History of the CPSU" published in 1959 was aware of this and corrected the rather confusing generalization of the older generation of Soviet scholars on Plekhanov and others' concepts, and changed the statement "The masses of people are the makers of history" to "it is the people who are the genuine makers of history" ("A History of the CPSU," p 24). This revision more accurately expresses the implication of the statement that "the masses of people are the makers of history," stressing the leading role of the masses of the people in making history on the one hand; on the other it leaves some leeway for individuals' roles in history. However, the statement that "the masses of people are the makers of history" has never had the implication Comrade Li Shu believes, namely that the masses are the makers of the "entire history" and completely dispelling individuals' roles in making history.

The formulation that "the masses of people are the makers of history" not only answers the question that mankind "are makers of history" from another angle--namely, who "are the genuine decisive forces of history," under the premise of acknowledging the general topic that "it is the people who are the makers of their own history"--but, making a comparison in theoretical layers, the formulation that "the masses of people are the makers of history" stands on a higher plane than the formulation that "it is the people themselves who are makers of history." The reason lies precisely in the fact that there are differences between these two formulations regarding the implication of "making history."

The formulation that "it is the people themselves who are makers of history" refers to concrete history, such as the history of the Chinese nation, the history of the Russian nation, and the history of the French nation. The "people" referred to in this formulation are also specific, including both the leaders and the masses, and the leaders and the masses may be classified based on economic status and class origin. An integrated history of a nation could not be formed if it is separated from any part of the people in the concrete history. Because of the differences in political, economic, and cultural interests, in the course of people "making history," such a history will come under the effects of accidental as well as invitable factors,

namely, the effects of factors of the law governing the progress of events, such a history is always very specific regarding the intervention of accidental factors, including the details in which history moves in zigzags and roundabout ways easily understandable to ordinary people.

The history referred to in the formulation that "the masses of people are the makers of history" is one in the sense of the history of social development, which is abstract, reflecting only the general law governing the development of human society, dispensing the zigzags and roundabout ways in the details of a specific history and the accidental nature of history; therefore, such a history does not include all the essence of history. When we say, "the masses of people are the makers of history," we only affirm that the people decide the major trend and orientation of history in the course of their makign history, but they cannot decide historical details. Therefore, the formulation that "the masses of people are the makers of history" is to affirm the historical role of the masses at a higher philosophical plane, namely at the supreme theoretical layer.

2. The So-Called "Three Errors" Are Groundless

Because Comrade Li Shu distorts the accurate implication of the formulation that "the masses of people are the makers of history," believing them to be the makers of "the entire history," (the "three errors" referring to Li's article) he mentions are also groundless.

To my mind, the logical inference of the topic that "the masses of people are the makers of history" is correct, because the topic of the entire process of inference does not exceed the general sphere of the question of the basis of "people making history." The first precondition refers to the necessary conditions for making history, namely the basis for making history; and the second precondition refers to the question of who has founded such a basis, and the answer is the masses of people. Under these two preconditions, the implication of the final conclusion that "the masses of people are the makers of history" can only be the formulation that the masses are the basis in making history, namely, they are the final decisive forces in the making of history. The accurate expression is that the masses "are the genuine makers of history." Now, Comrade Li Shu changes the meaning of the final conclusion into the formulation that the masses are the makers of the "entire history," then goes on to say that this inference is wrong and does not hold water.

Second, it is also groundless to say that the formulation that "the masses of people are the makers of history" commits the error of [word indistinct] the "individual's role in history." From Plekhanov to "A Concise History of the CPSU (Bolshevik)" (reflecting Stalin's views) and "A History of the CPSU, all dialectically look upon the roles of the masses and the heroes in history is affirmed. In his talk with German writer Emil Ludwig, Stalin put it explicitly: "Marxism denies not a bit the role of outstanding personalities, or to say, denies not a bit people making history." ("Collected Works of Stalin," Vol 13 p 94) Comrade Li Shu distorts the implication of the formulation, saying that because the masses of people are the makers of the "complete history," an inevitable logical conclusion is that the formulation is erroneous in negating individuals' roles in history.

And third, it does not hold water to say that "the masses of people are the makers of history" will lead to demanding them to bear responsibility for "the rights or wrongs in history." As mentioned above, the formulation that "the masses of people are the makers of history" is referred to at a higher theoretical layer, and its accurate implication refers to the major trends and orientation in history, which the masses decide in their activities of making history, but not all specific details in history. Superficially, those rulers were overlords of society, and the specific details in history were often related with the historical activities of the rulers, and naturally the rights and wrongs in a specific history was directly related with the historical activities of the rulers. When the rulers were capable of reflecting the demands of the times, representing the interests of the advanced classes and social groups, and promoting social development, they were rendering meritorious services, and were regarded as heroes; otherwise, they would become sinners in history. Therefore, we can see that the merits and sins, the rights and wrongs in history are referred to specific history, directing at the conducts of rulers. However, the "demands of the times, the interests of the advanced classes and social groups" as criteria to weigh the merits or sins of rulers are often inseparable from the historical activities of the masses. Generally speaking, the historical activities of the masses demonstrated the interests and demands of the advanced classes and social groups, as well as the demands of the times, and the major trends and orientation of historical development. The criteria for weighing the merits or sins of rulers are precisely the essences involved in the formulation that "the masses of the people are the makers of history." Comrade Li Shu has failed to separate issues of "historical rights and wrongs" in specific history from the theoretical exploration of the decisive role of the masses in history, confusing issues of different theoretical layers, drawing a conclusion by means of simple formal logical inference, and in turn criticizing the original topic as erroneous with such a conclusion, which I cannot agree to.

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CSO: 4005/092

RENMIN RIBAO ON ENGELS' APPROACH TO MARXISM

HK010205 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Sep 86 p 5

[Article by Guo Qingshi [6753 1987 0099]: "Engels' Scientific Attitude Toward Marxism"]

[Excerpts] Frederick Engels fought for the cause of the proletariat for half of a century. Not only did he make great contributions to the establishment of Marxist theory but he also waged brilliant struggles to defend Marxism. During his lifetime, Engels carried out more struggles against bogus socialism of every description than any other people did. He hit back hard for sure at all slander and attacks on Marxism. However, he made serious self-criticism of his and his great friend's work with an extremely strict scientific approach and at the same time, he also urged people to take a scientific attitude toward Marxism.

In his "Anti-Duhring," when talking about the great thinkers of the 18th century and their predecessors, Engels pointed out: They all "were not able to go beyond the limits imposed on thsm by their own epoch." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 57) Later on, in his "Dialectics of Nature," he said: "We can only know under the conditions of our epoch and as far as these allow." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 562) In other words, Engels held that the knowledge of the people, including himself and Marx's, was similarly restricted by the epoch, scientific and cultural developments, and other conditions. In his 1866 "Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classic German Philosophy," a basic Marxist work which systematically deals with the principles of dialectical materialism and historical materialism, he brilliantly and explicitly pointed out: People will realize that all knowledge they have mastered inevitably has its limitations; the environment where the knowledge is obtained presents a restriction to the knowledge; and truths are relative in meaning and the understanding which is considered in conformity with the truths today contains dormant errors which are to surface in future.

In the early 1848 edition of the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" there is a conclusion like this: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles." This is a judgment made when mankind had still no knowledge of the primitive form of society. Since then, with the

publication of the work of A. Hexthausen who, as time went by, discovered and depicted the common ownership of land in surviving Russian communes, the work by G. L Maurer which proved the existence of primitive forms of society in various places from India to Ireland, and of L. H. Morgan's important work "Primitive Communities" in London in 1877, the knowledge of mankind in primeval communities has significantly been expanded. In accordance with these latest achievements in the historical science, in interpreting the above judgment of the "Manifesto" in his work "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific" published in 1880, Engels said: "All previous history, with the exception of that in a primitive state, has been a history of class struggles." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 423) In the preface to the German edition of 1883 of the "Manifestor," the limiting clause "ever since the dissolution of the primitive communal ownership of land" was added before this conclusion. In the subsequent editions of the "Manifesto," Engels explained this point in the form of footnotes. Morgan discovered and proved the material conception of history in another way. His book "Primitive Communities" attracted the special attention of Marx and Engels. Marx carefully read the book to the finish and made detailed abstracts and remarks while reading it. Using some of Morgan's conclusions, practical materials, and Marx's remarks on Morgan's work, Engels wrote "The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State" in 1844. This Marxist basic work is clear proof that Marxism has continuously absorbed the outstanding cultural achievements of mankind, further enriching and developing itself.

As early as 1872, the two draftsmen of the "Manifesto" clearly said that the document contained something "incomplete" and "out-of-date." They pointed out that in the 25 years after the publication of the "Manifesto," with the development of big industries and of the political party organizations of the working class and with the practical experience of the February Revolution of 1848, in particular, the Paris Commune, some points in the "Manifesto" should be written in a way different from how they were treated previously.

In 1884 when Y.E. Paprits of Russia, said to Engels that she was ready to translate his early work "The Outline of Critique of Political Economy," Engels told her that he felt greatly honored by her readiness to translate his work and at the same time, he said: "I am clearly aware that it has now become completely outmoded and moreover, not only are there many shortcomings in it but there are also lots of errors. I am afraid it will generate more misunderstandings than benefits. ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 36, p 172) In February 1886, in the preface he prepared for the American edition of "The Conditions of the British Working Class," he said: "As far as Britain is concerned, many of the conditions described in the book have become things of the past." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 21, p 292) Because of the delay of publication of the book, this preface was later carried at the back of the book as an "appendix."

Moreover, Engels said in very explicit terms that there were times when he and Marx made mistakes. In the 1890's when he once again discussed the Revolution of 1848 in Europe, Engels said that at that time he and Marx considered that the decisive battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie had begun and as a result, the proletariat would win victory. Coming straight to the

point, Engels said: History has proved that we were wrong. "Our views at that time were nothing but an illusion." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 22, p 595) He went on to say: "History has clearly shown that the economic development of Continent Europe at that time had not become so mature that the capitalist mode of production could be eradicated;" capitalism "still has a great capacity to expand," and the working class itself was not yet mature enough to achieve social transformation and political domination. ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 22, pp 597, 598, 600) He pointed out, in a situation of widespread prosperity, that is to say, when the productive forces in the capitalist society are vigorously developing at a rate generally permitted by the limits of capitalist relations, a genuine proletarian revolution is out of the question.

Engels himself took a strict scientific attitude toward his and Marx's works and also urged people to regard Marxism as an object of study and to earnestly and objectively study it before applying it. Engels was opposed to the practices of oversimplifying and deifying and blindly copying and reciting Marx' and his works.

In the 1880's, there emerged a tendency to regard Marxism as dogma in the United States. In his letters two activists of the international and American labor movement, he repeatedly criticized their mistakes and stressed that his and Marx' theories were a guide to action rather than a dogma for people to swallow without pondering as a tenet. He pointed out: The practice of "regarding theory as dogma that should be thoroughly recited from memory and mechanically repeated" will not solve any problems, "like the incantations of magicians or the prayers of Catholics. The practice of regarding Marxism as dogma violated the fundamental tenets and basic spirit of Marxism.

Engels stressed that his and Marx' theories were creative and living ones rather than something immutable and rigid. As he saw it, Marxism is a theory that constantly develops with the development of the objective world and the creation and accumulation of experience in the workers movements and in the course of continuously finding solutions to various urgent problems confronting the proletariat in its struggles for emancipation.

As the theoretical manifestation of the movement for the working class to achieve emancipation, Marxism has come into being in line with the needs of the development of the workers movement. At first in his "Communist Principles," Engels summarized the theory he and Marx established into "a theory on the conditions for the emancipation of the proletarian." The conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat gradually became mature in the capitalist system. In 1884, in their "Manifesto," the two authors said that what their principles expounded was the conditions, process, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement. "These principles merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 264) In 1872, in

his "On Housing Problems," Engels summed up socialist theory as "practical socialist is the correct recognition of the various aspects of the capitalist mode of production." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 550) In the course of debating with Durhing in 1876, he summed up socialist theory as "primarily the product of the recognition, on the one hand, of the class antagonisms prevailing in modern society between proprietors and nonproprietors, between capitalist and wage-workers, and on the other, of the anarchy ruling in production." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 56) Marx and Engels applied dialectical materialism and historical materialsim in studying the various aspects of capitalist society, thus bringing to light the ultimate historical fate of the capitalist mode of production and reaching a scientific conclusion that socialism is bound to replace capitalism. Their observation and study of the class status of nonproprietors enabled them to devine the historic world missions of the proletariat.

In the 18th century, about 300 years after the birth of capitalism, with the invention of machines and the rise of big industries, capitalist household industries gave way to machinery industries and hence, capitalism entered an epoch of overall development. The capitalist system itself has its own historical process of emergence, development, maturity, and extinction. Of course, people's understanding of the system cannot be accomplished in one stroke. With the development of capitalism, the exposure of the contradictions of capitalism, and the launching of workers movements, there emerged Marxism. Engels pointed out: Mankind knows history and society only after the latter has developed and its understanding can always be just approximate to the real development. Therefore, he paid close attention to and carefully studied the variations of the development of the capitalist mode of production and explored and studied from time to time new phenomena, new situations, new tendencies, and new problems. In his later years just when capitalism was moving to the stage of monopoly capitalism, Engels observed and studied the formation of monopoly organizations, the expansion of the role of exchanges, the increase of capital export, the strengthening of state economic activities, and other new phenomena and wrote down the new conclusions which he drew therefrom in some of his and Marx' works which were subsequently published in the form of second-edition introductions, prefaces and introductions, enlarged editions or footnotes. In studying the works of Marx and Engels, more often than not, some readers paid exclusive attention to reading the main bodies of their works and neglected reading or did not carefully read what they wrote down later. This is indeed a great loss.

Engels maintained: The objective world, including nature and human society, is in a process of constant development and change and there are no ultimate, absolute, and holy things in it. He stressed that his and Marx' theories just opened a way of understanding the process and answering and solving tasks raised by practice and history and they did not and could not terminate and exhaust the recognition of truth. As early as the publication of the first volume of "Das Kapital," Engels said that Marx regarded economic laws just as the product of a given stage of historical development and the expression of the conditions for the existence of a certain transitional social formation rather than eternal truths. Later on in criticizing Duhring's "final and ultimate truths," he pointed out: Anyone who sets out in the scientific

sphere, including the realm of social sciences, "to hunt down final and ultimate truths, genuine, absolutely immutable truths, will bring home little, apart from platitudes and banalities of the sorriest kind." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 129)

Marx and Engels invariably took an extremely serious attitude toward the future socialist society and refused to predict its concrete developments. They always stressed that the future society could only be created by later generations in the light of their practice. Engels held that later generations would be wiser than he. When the first volume of "Das Kapital" was published, Engels said: Marx is a consistent revolutionary rather than a prophet. The task he set on himself is to show, through the study of the economy, that the capitalist society carries within itself a higher level of social formation and socialism is the historical inevitable outcome of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, rather than to evolve a perfect, social system. He only made most general statements on future social changes. Anyone who wants to seek from here "the secret theory and panacea of genuine socialism" or to get from here "the exact picture of the lasting kingdom of communism," will be entirely off base. ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 16, p 243)

With regard to socialist society, Marx and Engels noticed the general trend of social development and the basic characteristics of the future society just from their criticism of the old world. The founders of Marxism never encountered practical and theoretical problems cropping up in socialist construction. Naturally they never discussed, much less developed any propositions about them. If we rigidly adhere to seeking ready solutions to the practical problems arising in today's socialist construction from the works of Marx and Engels instead of regarding Marxism as a guide and method in studying practical problems, we will be unable to forge ahead. Some of their expositions in this regard if any are inferences they made 90 years and even 100 years or more ago in accordance with their knowledge and understanding of the capitalist society in those years. One hundred years have passed since then and things have greatly changed in this world. Some of their conclusions are not necessarily commensurate with the realities in the present-day world. For example, the conclusion that socialism will eliminate commodity production has proved to be infeasible and should therefore be revised. If Marx and Engels were around in the realities of socialism, they could have long ago replaced their former inferences with new conclusions. Today if we still rigidly stick to and use this conclusion of Marx and Engels to appraoch our current real life, this will surely lead us to an erroneous conclusion hindering the historical development of society. In buildng socialism, the fields left by the founders of Marxism for their successors to explore are quite vast and the problems they should answer and solve are many. Today's Marxists can accomplish much more in this regard. Enriching and developing Marxism and infusing fresh vigor into it through the practice in socialist revolution and construction is the sacred duty and important historic mission entrusted by the times on us.

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CSO: 4009/092

PAPER CITES IMPORTANCE OF FOSTERING WORK ETHIC

OW181430 Beijing XINHUA in English 1137 GMT 18 Oct 86

[Text] Beijing, 18 October (XINHUA)--The promotion of the work ethic is an important element in building a culturally and ideologically advanced socialist society, said a commentator in today's ECONOMIC DAILY.

The work ethic, the article explained, is a rudimentary requirement that the society must demand all occupational personnel, including leading officials, to observe.

"It should be stressed in all trades and professions, including communist party and government institutions," the article said.

Recently, Chinese newspapers have run articles criticizing some unusual phenomena such as hospitals rejecting peasants, taxi drivers asking exorbitant prices and other poor services.

The commentary attributed these phenomena, which violate the work ethic, to the ignorance of the importance of ethics education by leaders and the egalitarian practice which does not link one's attitude toward customers with his income.

Now, as the ongoing economic reform aiming to abolish egalitarianism goes ahead, responsibility systems of various kinds for all trades are being established. This will create a fine environment for improving occupational ethics, the paper said.

But the most important thing is to work out specific and strict codes on the work ethic for every profession, according to which employees should be rewarded or punished. "Every unit must put an end to lip service of the work ethic," the article said.

/12232
CSO: 4000/046

NANFANG RIBAO ON OPENING CULTURAL DOMAIN

HK251207 Guangzhou NANGANG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Sep 86 pp 1, 2

[Article by Yan Jiaqi, director of the Political Science Institute of the China Academy of Social Sciences: "Significance of a Fully Opened Cultural Domain to China's Modernization"]

[Text] The "Guangzhou Cultural Development Strategy Initiative" suggests that Guangzhou City, in its cultural development, must persist in fully opening up to the outside world and must keep in line with the need to vigorously develop the socialist commodity economy. These two principles are of great importance to the whole country. In order to fulfill the goal of socialist modernization, China must fully open its cultural domain and ensure that the country's cultural development will keep in line with the need to develop the socialist commodity economy. Here I would like to talk about four issues, focusing on the process of "overall opening up of the cultural field."

Change in China's 'Self-evaluation'

A man may have his evaluation of others and himself. Similarly, a state may have its evaluation of other states and itself. China's "self-evaluation" as reflected by Chinese traditional culture asserted that China was the "center of the world," a country occupying a "central position." This "self-evaluation" of China began to change after China's defeat in the "Opium War" in 1842. The country began to admit that it was no longer the "center of the world" and that the West had a lead over it in the scientific and technological field. So a "Westernization Movement" was launched to assimilate foreign science and technology. Chinese traditional culture, however, continued to make every effort to resist the spread of foreign culture. "Chinese learning for the essential principles, Western learning for the practical applications," was a slogan that China put forth to resist foreign culture while acknowledging its backwardness in science and technology. Although China no longer regarded itself as the center of the world, it insisted that it was the "center of the world" in the cultural field except for science and technology and that Chinese culture was superior to Western culture.

Marxism was gradually shaped into a Chinese version after it was introduced into China in the 20th century. China was more and more clearly conscious that it was no longer the "cultural center of the world." But it still wished to become the "ideological center of the world." The criticism against the so-called "modern revisionism" before and during the "Great Cultural Revolution" was inseparable from China's traditional cultural conception embodying its wish to become the "ideological center of the world" and the "revolutionary center of the world."

Therefore, as a matter of fact, China had still refused to admit 10 years ago, by the end of the "Great Cultural Revolution" that it was merely an ordinary member of the international community. China on the one hand was intoxicated with the idea that it had a "long history," a "vast territory and abundant resources," a "large population," and the "most revolutionary" thought in the world; and, on the other hand, it made every effort to hide its inferiority complex which had resulted from the country's underdeveloped economy. In fact, China was stubbornly resisting an overall opening-up process in the cultural field.

Thus we can say that the evolution of China's "self-evaluation" underwent three stages, namely, from the concept of being the "center of the world" to that of being the "cultural center of the world," and then to that of being "ideological center of the world" or the "revolutionary center of the world." The introduction of the "overall opening-up process in the cultural field" at this moment marks another extremely profound change in China's "self-evaluation." China has begun to realize that it must play in real earnest the role of an ordinary member of the world international community.

How Does Contemporary China Resist Alian Culture?

Contemporary China is a "people's republic" and the dominant ideology of contemporary China is "Marxism." However, neither "republic" nor "Marxism" are original Chinese products, but things introduced from foreign countries. And all this imported ideology and culture has finally been shaped into its Chinese version after a tortuous process.

The Chinese version of "republic" has actually distorted the two most important features of "republic." The first feature of the "people's republic" is the people's congress as the organ of state power and the National People's Congress as the organ of supreme state power. Although this has been laid down in the Constitution, this does not reflect China's real politics. During the "Great Cultural Revolution" in particular, supreme state power was seized by a few individuals or even by a single man. The second feature of the "people's republic" is that nobody can hold the state's supreme administrative power with a lifelong tenure. In the first 30 years after the founding of the PRC, as party work was not well separated from government administration, the supreme administrative power of the state was actually held by the party's paramount leader. Such supreme power held in the hands of an individual was neither divisible nor transferable. And this is the

very basic feature of China's political structure over the past several thousand years. Of course, some progress has been made inthe above two aspects since the beginning of the 1980's. The 1982 constitution has clearly defined the limited tenure of office for the head of state and the head of government. But the phenomena of unseparated party work and government administration and highly centralized power still remain.

Marxism is also "alien culture" to China. Having been imported into China, Marxism gained an unchallenged position in guiding the Chinese revolution. The victory of the Chinese revolution was won under the guidance of Marxism. However, as soon as Marxism became the dominant ideology, China's traditional culture began to persistently encroach upon it. For example, we have mistaken "egalitarianism," an ideology arising from the small-scale peasant economy, for "equality under Marxism"; and have regarded the traditional political culture of China, for example, the practices of "being sensitive to the people's feelings," "being glad to accept good advice," and "being adept at personal management," as "democracy under Marxism." In fact, the "Marxism" that we are talking about and which many "quoters" are repeatedly quoting today contains many elements that go counter to Marxism's scientific spirit. In the proper sense, science means theory which can modify itself whenever it fails to explain new problems emerging in actual life. In the field of science, no works of any scientist can be taken as an idol for "worship." And our "Marxism" has remained a closed ideological system for a long time. If the doctrine of "Chinese learning for the essential principles, Western learning for practical applications" was a "theory" used to resist alien culture in the history of modern China, then the "theory of the acme of Marxism" was the "theory" to resist alien culture and the opening-up process in the 1960's. Today, this "theory" has assumed a new form. Under the pretext of "defending the purity of Marxism," some people are defending all kinds of feudal culture that they label as "Marxism" on the one hand and, on the other, trying to reject fine cultural achievements which are part of human civilization and classified as "non-Marxism" or even "anti-Marxism." We can say that the slogan of "defending the purity of Marxism" is a refurbished version of the doctrine of "Chinese learning for essential principles, Western learning for the practical applications" in contemporary China.

How Should We Deal With All Kinds of Non-Marxist Ideologies and Theories in the 'Overall Opening-up Process in the Cultural Field'?

What is Marxism? Marxism is the theory of the conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat. In mankind's ideological culture, we have, as well as Marxism, all kinds of ideologies relating to natural science, social science, arts, and religion, as well as all kinds of rationalistic and irrationalistic ideologies. As a kind of science, Marxism of course cannot cover all scientific fields. When we are classifying all the ideologies of mankind, we must first of all classify them according to their range of application, rather than label in an oversimplified way all ideologies and theories other than Marxism as "non-Marxism." The term "Non-Marxism" denotes all thought and ideologies other than Marxism that deal with the same area of study as Marxism does. In fact, not only the theories of natural science

are regarded as scientific theories "other than Marxism" but many theories of social science are also regarded as scientific theories "other than Marxism" since they have different [word indistinct] of study. All these theories are a component part of mankind's spiritual civilization. In political science, the theories on "the relationship between law and freedom" and on the "balance of power" are scientific ones. "Freedom means the right to do everything that is allowed by the law"; "in order to prevent abuse of power, it is necessary to restrict power with another power." All these views were put forth by neither Marx nor Engels. But they are views of great value to the development of mankind's spiritual civilization. It it were true that all non-Marxist ideologies are of no value and have nothing to do with science, then what we would have to do today would be to copy the several dozen volumes of Marx and Engels' works rather than making any further exploration and study.

The world of science is a "word of three no's"--there is no taboo, no idol, and no acme in the scientific field. In the world of science, there is no difference between superior and inferior ideologies but the difference [words indistinct] and falsehood. All people are equal before truth, and all truths are equal to one another. In the field of natural science, we have Newton's dynamics, Maxwell's electromagnetics, Einstein's theory of relativity, Schrodinger's quantum mechanics, Prigogine's theory of dissipative structure, and so on. Among these we cannot say which is superior and which is inferior. Similarly, among Marxism, humanism, and the theory of decentralization of power, we cannot say which is superior and which is inferior. Every discipline of science has its own range of application and can solve only some sorts of problems. The idea of creating a versatile discipline of science to deal with all problems in the world itself violates the spirit of science. As a science of the conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat, Marxism guided the Chinese revolution in the past and guides our socialist modernization program today. How can we expect so much as that Marxism will help to solve specific problems of all disciplines of science? Some people have labeled their own creations and those bearing the influence of Chinese traditional culture as "Marxism," claiming that such creations are Marxist literature, Marxist aesthetics, Marxist ethics, and so on. In fact in doing so they have distorted scientific Marxism, have promoted their own things deliberately or unwittingly by making use of the Marxist label, and have rejected other people's discussion of their theories.

In the process of "overall opening up of the cultural field," we must admit that Marxism is the science guiding our socialist modernization. However, as well as Marxism, there are other ideologies and theories. All scientific ideologies and theories are needed by socialist modernization. The purpose of the "overall opening up of the cultural field" is to break through all the barriers imposed by the doctrine of "Chinese learning for essential principles, Western learning for practical applications" and the slogan of "defending the purity of Marxism," and to introduce, evaluate, and assimilate the fine cultural wealth of the whole of mankind, including all [word indistinct] and theories of natural and social science.

The 'Overall Opening Up of the Cultural Field' and the Reform of the Political Structure

As a direct result, the process of "overall opening up of the cultural field" will given an impetus to both the economic and political structural reforms. China's closed-doorism and its "self-evaluation" which identified it as the "center of the world" were the reason the country lacked the conception which would have allowed it to regard itself as an equal member of the international community and to compare its political and economic structures with those of other countries in the long history of several thousand years. Various political structures have existed in the history of Western countries. Under some of these political structures, power was highly concentrated in the hands of a single individual or several persons; under others the doctrine of "decentralization of power" and "balance of power" was practiced and the power of every individual was restricted. Some countries implemented the system of "multiple heads of state" while others delegated legislative power to several different organs. Aristotle of ancient Greece based his book "The Politics" on a comparison of the political structures of 158 Greek city states. Since the time of Aristotle, the concept of compariosn of political structures has become an important component part of the West's political culture. In China, from ancient times to the late 19th century, both in periods of divided rule and those of unification, the organizational form of the political structure remained basically the same, and therefore there was no opportunity for people to approach the concept of comparison and classification of political strucrues. Chinese thinkers of the feudal period, such as Deng Mu in the late Song and early Yuan period and Huang Zongxi in the late Ming and early Qing period, bitterly criticized the autocratic political structure. However, they failed, after all, to go beyond the founds of the feudal political structure of China. The kernel of China's feudal political theory was the theory of rule which provided the ruler with a set of moral and behavioral standards. The main idea of Confucious' theory of government is to require the ruler to practice "benevolent administration." Confucious said: In governing a state, we must "make morality our orientation and propriety our behavioral standard." He also demanded that the ruler "set an example by his own actions." He pointed out: "If a ruler himself sets an example, the people will follow him without instructions; if he fails to do so, the people will disobey him despite his instructions." Mencius held that there were "virtuous" elements in everybody's heart, and everybody would become a sage so long as he could enhance these "virtuous" elements. If such a man was imposed as the ruler to practice "humanitarian rule," the people would obey his rule. And the people were entitled to oppose and "overthrow and punish" a ruler who failed to practice "humanitarian rule." It was under the guidance of such feudal political theory that many emperors and kinds in the history of China improved their rule. Those flourishing ages in the history of Chinese feudal society, such as the "Administration of Emperor Wen and Emperor Jing of the Han Dynasty," the "Enlightened Administration of Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty," and the "Administration of Emperor Xuanzong during the early period of his reign," could be partly attributed to those rulers' efforts to behave correctly. "Being eager to observe the people's feelings" is not equivalent to democratic politics. Over the past several thousand years, people used to believe that the ruler's morality and

behavior had a direct bearing on the fate of the state. They either rose to oppose "corrupt officials" and "tyrants" or looked forward to "honest and upright officials" and "enlightened monarchs." This traditional cultural concept has always prevailed. However, since supreme power under the traditional political structure was unlimited, the rulers could not possibly voluntarily, conscientiously, and strictly restrain themselves. As a result, the "shifting of the policies and rationality of a government with the changing of the person in charge" as a common phenomenon became the basic feature of the politics of ancient China.

Today, as we are carrying out a reform of the political structure, we must forsake, as far as political and cultural concepts are concerned, the above-mentioned feudal political theory. Aristotle said he dared not place high hope on humanity, therefore necessary systems had to be installed to restrain man's behavior. The author of "The Federalist Papers" pointed out: If men were angels, there would be no need to establish a government; and if a government was formed of angels, there would be no need to restrict the government's power. In 1980, Deng Xiaoping asserted: "A good system can prevent scoundrels from running amok, while a bad system can hinder good people from going all out to do good things, or will even turn them into wrongdoers." Such a notion is obviously incompatible with China's traditional political culture. As we are carrying out a reform of the political structure today, we cannot possibly introduce, evaluate, and assimilate all elements that are useful to us from the political systems of other countries without initiating the process of "overall opening up of the cultural field." We must spend several years, or more than 10 years, or even several decades to reform, step by step, in a planned way, and under the CPC's leadership, our country's political structure characterized by highly centralized power. Through the reform of the political structure, we must not only guarantee the smooth progress of the economic structural reform but must also establish a socialist political structure with a high degree of democracy.

One of the important accomplishments of the current Guangzhou symposium on cultural development strategy is that the concept of "overall opening up of the cultural field" has been put forth. This is a major breakthrough in the 100-year-old doctrine of "Chinese learning for essential principles, Western learning for practical applications," as well as in the deceptive slogan of "defending the purity of Marxism," which is the disguised form of the former doctrine. When we review, in the 21st century, this discussion centering around the "cultural issue" launched in China in the 1980's, we will be bound to realize that China would not have succeeded in its economic and political structural reform and China's socialist modernization would not have been accomplished without an overall opening up of the cultural field. Guangzhou is taking the lead in the process of opening up to the outside world and the reform. I believe that Guangzhou's opening-up drive and reform, which are surging forward with great momentum, will have a tremendous impact on other parts of the country from south to north, and thus give a great impetus to the further development of the opening-up process and the reform throughout the country.

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CSO: 4005/092

WANG MENG SPEAKS AT LITERATURE SYMPOSIUM

HK290708 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Sep 86 p 7

[Speech by Wang Meng [3769 5536]: "Remarks of a Novelist"--delivered at the Symposium on 10 Years of Literature of the New Period--originally published in ZHONGGUO WENHUA BAO--revised by the author before being printed in an abridged form by RENMIN RIBAO--passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] /First, the Price of Summing Up/

As one who writes novels, I feel heavyhearted when I hear that people want to sum up the literature of the new period. This is because in the face of various phenomena of literature, nearly every kind of generalization is carried out at the expanse of other angles, the observations of other aspects and other facts. If a good theoretical article has summed up the characteristics of 50 out of 100 novels, it has certainly done it at the expense of the other 50 novels. If a good article has summed up the most important achievements and defects of one of the novels written by a novelist, very often, it has done it at the expense of the other characteristics of the novelist, which might be less important, but sometimes, might be more important. So, to a novelist, theoreticians are somewhat foolish.

It is possible to sum up the literature of the new period from various angles. For example, we can sum up the changes in the literature of the new period from the angle of the changes in political life, that is to say, the changes in the literature of the new period are an organic part of the overall changes in our country's social life, political life, and historical progress; we can also sum up the changes in the literature of the new period from the angle of literature as a language art or as art itself, that is to say, how literature recovers, opens up and develops its language and its artistic characteristics; moreover, we can also sum up what kind of ideological trend the literature of the new period represents from the angle of the ideological trend of literature; and we can also sum up the literature of the new period from the relationship between Chinese literature and world literature and the relationship between Chinese literature and traditional literature. The various possibilities of summing up the literature of the new period themselves show that the literature of China's new period has made

gratifying progress and is a rich whole like life itself. This is because those literary works easy for us to sum up literature, for we have a variety of literature at present. This is indeed a gratifying phenomenon.

/Second Perplexed by Choices/

Between 1977, when the novel "Form Master" was published, and 1979, the most outstanding characteristic of literary creation was the breaking through of the forbidden zone in literary creation and the ideological shackles imposed by the "gang of four." Writers were allowed to write not only about scars and wrong cases but also love affairs. Between 1980 and 1982, literature developed a new spirit and further and wider explorations were carried out in themes, means of expression, and styles of literature. Since 1983, new possibilities have appeared. A large number of new concepts, new nouns, and new systems have emerged or have been developed. Many writers have also put forward some new suggestions, advocated new opinions, or publish some new declarations, which have been too overwhelming for people to accept. With regard to artistic creation, nothing is new now. You say that your theme is new, but it is no longer new in a year. Sometimes, you make great efforts to produce your artistic work. Instead of praising it as creative, some people might say that you have committed piracy. Some other people say that "various schools can only prevail for 3 to 5 years." At this meeting, some participants reportedly said that the works of various schools can only "prevail for 3 to 5 days." (This, of course, is a joke.) Before 1980, some works were unanimously regarded as earthshaking pieces by the whole country. However, since 1980, such works are scarcely to be found. Such a great split between creative works and theories is not a bad phenomenon. It is mostly a good phenomenon. I heard a very vivid metaphor employed by a comrade from Shanghai, which can be appropriately applied to literature. In other words, when we are doing things now, red and green lights are turned on simultaneously. When you just start working, the red light is turned on. When you stop your work hurriedly, the green light is on. Whether you are doing the work of readjusting wages, deciding on grades, or writing novels, red and green lights are turned on simultaneously. Now writers have a wider choice for the themes and angles. But society has less concern for literature. Sometimes, there are works which move the "brothers." However, nobody cares about such works except those "brothers." Some people even despise the works. These phenomena are normal, and should be allowed to exist. I believe that we should take time to make our choice. There is no need for us to do things hurriedly. Because if we make our choice and publish our declarations too hurriedly, there might be a certain imbalance, slant, or confusion between our work and the practical conditions. I feel that the "enthusiasm for literature" in this country is subsiding and becoming normal. However, a new "enthusiasm for theories" and an "enthusiasm for culture" are on the rise. This new "enthusiasm for theories" and the "enthusiasm for culture" will also subside in a few years. By then, we should be able to calmly and soberly sit down and make our choice. Perhaps the choice made then will be the best choice. Really great works can be produced only under stable circumstances. I think that whatever the viewpoint one chooses, in whatever domain, whatever system of symbols one yses, and by whatever means, one should be able to produce some really fundamental concrete things

which represent one's profound insight into the world, history, life, and art. This insight is never a result of impulsive decisions. Still less is it a matter of sheer luck. One can acquire insight only by accumulating book knowledge and travelling experience and learning lessons over a long time. If one has insight into art, one should also have great confidence in the value of one's own existence and one will never wake up only to find that one's appearance has become so worn-out that people cannot recall it. With this insight, one needs not worry that one may have to follow in others' footsteps. Creation is not a choosing process on a horizontal plane. Creation is accumulation. What is even more important is that this accumulation should be a spiral process but not a choosing process on a horizontal plane.

/Third, Transcending Patterns/

The patterns in our creative literary works include love affairs between talented young men and beautiful young ladies and, in particular, patterns in Soviet [as published] literature. In addition, Western patterns and those patterns developed by Garcia Marquez have also been introduced. These patterns of creation and various theories have great significance for our creative work and theoretical research because patterns are a crystallization of man's understanding of things. However, these patterns have their limitations and inadequacies. It is possible for our literature in the new period to transcend these patterns. There are many valuable things in Soviet literature. However, the literary patterns and the lines of reasoning in Soviet literature, which highlight struggles between the positive and negative extremes and ethical appraisals of human nature, do not always accord with life, not to mention profoundly reflecting it. People always assign a positive value to passion, selflessness, and love and a negative value to hatred, selfishness, and conservative behavior. However, man's emotional life is not as simple as that. My experience over the past 50 years tells me that love can produce and generate evils. One's concern for one's beloved can be part of one's love for that one. This concern can impel one to do many things for the beloved and some of these things may not be good things. For example, a parent's love for his or her children may mean restrictions. Thus, my opinion is that understanding enjoys a higher position than love. Love is a youthful feeling. However, the feelings of an adult are a sublimation of love, that is, understanding.

To put it simply, one can say that the typical Western pattern is spiritual emptiness. However, there are two kinds of spiritual emptiness. The first kind is genuines spiritual emptiness and the second kind is the painful spiritual experience of a person who, in his spiritual life, prematurely asks for the immediately gratification of his wishes and demands it well in advance of the time when this is possible. This kind of spiritual emptiness is a product of prosperity and development. Thus, it is necessary to make a concrete analysis of the so-called spiritual emptiness. I have discovered that what always preoccupies the laboring people is the problem of survival and that what always preoccupies intellectuals is the question of the way in which they are living. This is perplexing enough. But what is even more perplexing is the question of why one is living. Thus, one's spiritual emptiness is inseparable from what one pursues spiritually after one's

material needs have been met, or more or less met. However, we cannot mechanically copy from this pattern because it is not completely consistent with our circumstances. It has been developed under a set of cultural, social, and historical circumstances which are quite different from ours. A pattern, if mechanically transplanted into our society, becomes twisted and cannot be fused with our minds, our lives, our consciousness, and our unconsciousness and it cannot enter them. The essence of this Western pattern seems to be the feeling that one has had enough and is tired of living. However, what the majority of us feel is that life is difficult. Some writers have successfully imitiated Western writers by copying from this pattern. However, I still think that one who has departed from Chinese history, the Chinese society, the Chinese people, and the Chinese cultural mentality will not be accepted by Chinese readers as a genuinely creative writer. If one wants to transform the Chinese cultural mentality, one must make use of the positive things in this mentality. Otherwise, one cannot easily transform it and attempts to do so can be considered cultural aggression or cultural monopolization. Not long ago, I heard that a peasant had felled some wire poles and sold them as timber. What is the nature of this problem? Is it a problem of humanism? Or is it a problem of contemporary minds? In recent years, I have heard some of the weird stories circulated in the early 1980's. One of these stories is about a peasant in a mountain area who one day suddenly declared that he was the emperor of the country and told the people to kneel down in front of him. I am not trying to tell you how backward China is by telling these stories. All of us know that the country has made notable progress in various fields and that it has many advanced and first-class things. However, if one departs from the reality and actual living conditions in China, looks up to Western literary patterns as the standard, and tries anxiously to tell people that one is tired of living, one will definitely be rejected by those who have difficulty making a living. No matter how much one's imitative works resemble Western works, their value is dubious.

A short while ago, somebody mentioned a few works about the reforms. What I said above is also applicable to them. If one tries to account for worldwide processes and, in particular, social events in China, in terms of a struggle between a positive force and a negative force or between a force for reforms and a force against them, one cannot faithfully and profoundly portray how the reforms are being carried out. One has to pay a high price for the generalizations one makes. Literature has already paid a high price for some general patterns.

/Fourth, Life Has the Most for Literature To Draw On/

Now people say that literature should draw on psychology, sociology, and philosophy. However, my opinion is that what has the most for literature to draw on is not literature itself. There are people who do not make a living from literature. What has the most for literature to draw on is what these people do, what preoccupies their minds, and their living conditions. Perhaps we can magnify this and say that the world is what literature should draw on. In my opinion, new ideas, new categories, new terms, new

schools of thought, and anything that remains popular for some time in a certain part of the world all have their roots in life. Even erroneous things are no exception. Life is given to concepts, ideas, expressive means, or new terms only if they are connected with actual life. Let us take symbolism as an example. How many writers have studied the definitions and development of symbols and of symbolism? The symbolic character of things is precisely a product of the clues provided by life. In spring, flowers blossom and birds fly about. Even a primary school pupil knows this. Symbols and symbolic things abound in life. Looking at the starry sky at night, one feels lonely. In fall, trees shed leaves. On parting, one may discover that the smoke from the smoke-stacks atop a steamship or a locomotive diffuses and becomes thinner and thinner as the steamship of the train moves ahead. All this is symbolic. We may also take the stream of consciousness as an example. How many writers have acquired an understanding of the stream of consciousness by studying the works of Freud and Bergson? If a writer does not have that subtle insight or if he fails to observe delicate and subtle psychological activities and behavior, that is, if he cannot introspect, he will never feel the stream of consciousness, nor anything similar to it. We may also take mysticism as a third example. Mysticism is a category in esthetics. It is also a product of life. When one looks at the sea or at the sky at night or when one's relative is leaving or dying, one has a mystic feeling. I will not introduce further examples, but I still think that life has the most to offer to literature. Only if the theoretical terms introduced by a certain theory are firmly implanted in all modes of living, in life on all levels, and in man's inner experience can this theory avoid being a scholastic philosophical theory. Thus, I think that people involved in literary work should try to live in non-literary environment. If they are surrounded by literature, this could be a danger. If people keep going from one literary work to another wittout doing other things, literature will wither and they will indeed be "tired of living." In this way, both literature and their physical and mental health will be affected.

/Fifth, Civilization in the Contention Between Schools of Thought/

When both the red and green lights are turned on at the same time, they may give rise to heated debates. We eagerly welcome and look forward to such liveliness. Although we cannot prohibit people from holding different academic views, it is necessary to follow civilized rules as with playing a football match. You may kick the football from east to west or from west to east, but you should abide by the rules and not play foul or harm others. If you play foul, you will be warned. This is necessary. Take another example, can we use the method of determining the nature of a matter in advance to examine the truth? Because we said that practice is the norm of truth, but we did not say that nature is the norm of truth. In the past, we often used the method of determining and nature of a matter rather than making any analysis, which was very difficult for many people to accept. Such a method of determining the nature of a matter without making any analysis runs counter to Marxism. Since Marxism is truth, it should be repeatedly demonstrated and should constantly stand the test of practice. There does not exist any a priori truth that need not stand the test of practice.

Similarly, there does not exist any "thoroughly refuted" fallacy whose nature is determined without making any analysis and demonstration. You can say that the views of a person are erroneous, ridiculous, and of no avail. But you cannot say that his views belong to a certain nature. In fact, the practice applied to win one's counterpart by merely determining the nature of a matter belittles contention as well as Marxism and materialism. Therefore, while carrying out contention, we should examine through practice and see whether or not it conforms to the reality of life. In literature, we should see whether or not it conforms to the reality of literature, art, artistic creation, and artistic psychology. Only in this way can we avoid idealism.

I have one more point to add: Can we stand on a higher plane while dealing with the diametrically opposed views? We should try to reunderstand different views of very description. In the past, both dogmatism and "ultra-leftist" deviation had two basic propositions: First, those who held different views were enemies. In other words, those who were against "me" were all enemies. Second, "I" represented the truth. These two propositions were valuable only when they were regarded as fideism rather than science, because different views sometimes turned into their opposites and sometimes ran parallel without interfering with one another. While you can lead an ox by the nose, I may also lead it by the tail or hair. While you put the stress of your work on typicalness, I may put mine on rhetoric. Your articles may be valuable, but mine of no significance. But one is not an obstacle to the other. Some views and opinions are mutually absorptive, while others may turn into their opposites. We should adopt understanding, consultative, and gentle ways of dealing with different views. Some people say that we lack contention in literature and art and we lag behind the West in this respect. These remarks have hit the nail on the head, because our contention in the past was usually raised to the higher plane of principle. Then it was inappropriate or impossible to continue the contention. The contention would be significant so long as it does not lead to its abolition. The purpose of the civilized contention is not to abolish contention or to "lure the snake from its burrow." We should not create public opinion frequently, enlist sympathy, or try to win over the majority of the masses. Instead of simply negating each other, we should enhance mutual understanding in contention and never presume that "I" have monopolized the truth. Perhaps this can be regarded as "modern consciounsess."

/6662
CSO: 4005/092

RECOGNITION OF PRIVATE INSTITUTION GRADUATES DISCUSSED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 25 Sep 86 p 1

[Article by Ding Xilin [0002 2569 2651]: "Private Institutions Find a Niche in the Educational System"]

[Text] Private colleges and universities have emerged in response to the needs of the 1980's at a time when education is attracting more and more attention. According to incomplete data, there are almost 100 institutions of higher education throughout the nation founded by democratic parties and academic groups with self-raised funds and other resources recruited from society. They have contributed to the development of qualified personnel.

Many people, however, worry whether the quality of teaching at private institutions is reliable and whether their graduates have any prospects. This reporter visited a number of private institutions in the capital, such as Zhonghua Shehui University and the Beijing Peili Vocational University, and was gratified to find that these worries were unfounded. At a time when the nation is desperately short of all kinds of trained specialists but unable to increase educational outlays substantially, private institutions may be an important supplement to state-run colleges. Their "easier-to-get-into-than-out" policy deserves to be taken seriously.

In accordance with the demand of the four modernizations, private institutions offer training in such neglected specialties as pre-school education, secretarial and filing training, tourism management, acupuncture and massage, statistics, etc. They also follow the programs of studies, teaching plans, and teaching materials used by regular institutions of higher education. Full-time faculty members are recruited from among retired cadres and intellectuals in Beijing, while part-time instructors are drawn from regular institutions of higher education and scientific research and medical units, etc. As a result, their teaching standard is quite high. They also take care to develop lateral linkages with regular colleges and universities, whose participation is requested in such areas as the revision of programs of studies, the selection of teaching materials, the organization of practical training and experiments, and the review of graduation dissertations.

By "easier-to-get-into-than-out" policy, we mean that while the academic qualifications of the freshmen of these institutions are on the whole not as

strong as those of freshmen at other schools, they are more eager and motivated because they are nonresident students who attend college at their own expense. Private institutions are not responsible for allocating jobs to their graduates but do make recommendations based on their merits. Because of this systematic and rigorous form of higher education, some students manage to achieve the standards of regular college or polytechnic graduates. Take Beijing Peili Vocational University, for instance. This year it graduated 35 students in the field of acupuncture and massage. All their examination results and graduation dissertations as well as programs of studies and curricula over the past 4 years have been evaluated and reviewed by relevant professors and experts from the Traditional Chinese Medicine Research Institute. The latter commented, "These students are on a par with college specialized undergraduates; their theoretical knowledge and clinical abilities match those of graduates of similar colleges and universities." Zhonghua Shehui University has conducted a follow-up study on its 395 graduates last year and found that they are much sought-after. At present, more than 80 percent of the graduates of Beijing's private institutions have been selected through examination and hired by state organs, colleges, universities, institutions and enterprises.

Nevertheless, private institutions currently face many difficulties, the most serious of which is the non-recognition of the academic credentials of their graduates. Non-recognition creates many problems in terms of employment and pay. Given the present realities, it does not make sense to withhold recognition from all graduates of private institutions categorically. Instead of an across-the-board restriction, we should differentiate between different institutions. Those which are well-run should be encouraged and supported, while those which are poorly managed may be educationally adjusted or even suspended. Many teachers and students at private institutions have appealed for the institution of a proper examination system as soon as possible to verify their graduation. One possibility is for the State Education Commission to centralize examination questions and grade papers based on the standards of graduates of regular colleges. Alternatively, the State Education Commission may appoint a regular college concerned to set examination questions and grade papers. If they pass, the students' post-secondary status should be recognized by the government, which, however, will not be obliged to allocate jobs to them. This is a reasonable appeal.

There is reason to believe that as part of the educational system, private institutions will establish a name for themselves.

12581
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POSTGRADUATE CONTINUING EDUCATION ADVOCATED

Beijing ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO in Chinese 11 Oct 86 p 1

[Article by Li Zhujiang [2621 2691 3068]: "Create More Continuing Education Opportunities for All Qualified People"]

[Text] The State Education Commission recently invited the responsible comrades of pertinent units to make a special study of the issue of postgraduate continuing education. Participants at the meeting pointed out that the range of continuing education should be broadened to encompass scientists, technicians and management personnel of college and university level or above and those with mid-level technical titles, including party and government cadres and teachers, and that qualified people of all trades and professions should have the opportunity for continuing education.

Relevant material provided at the meeting indicates that, though it has just been initiated, China's postgraduate continuing education has already made certain achievements. Qinghua University alone recently offered 357 advanced courses of all kinds, including computer technology, microelectronics, automation, and new engineering materials, and trained over 20,000 students. Offering such specializations as "modern control theory," "computer science," "study of friction" and "modern operation and management," the Shanghai Second Industrial University has trained more than 317,000 people for the Shanghai area. Nankai University's "development course," offered for the Tianjin economic development zone, has trained high-level foreign economics and foreign trade personnel. Other institutions of higher learning and pertinent units have also successively held all types of advanced and training classes, gained preliminary experiences, and laid a good foundation.

All participants felt that, under the new situation of opening to the outside and enlivening the economy at home, to import, assimilate and digest advanced scientific and technical and modern management knowledge, follow and approach the level of new and high technologies of the world, and build China's economic development on the base of scientific and technological progress, scientists, technicians and management personnel must ceaselessly receive continuing education, master advanced knowledge and technology, and improve their scientific and management levels and comprehensive technical abilities. Postgraduate continuing education is the highest level of adult education. Cultivating the backbone strengths of personnel in active service, continuing

education is an important measure for the economic development of the state, the basic strategy to welcome the challenge of the new technological revolution, and the fundamental guarantee to the improvement of scientists and technicians. Continuing education possesses a momentous significance and effect.

The meeting pointed out that the task of postgraduate continuing education includes mainly four aspects: 1) incessantly renewing and supplementing the students' knowledge and ability; 2) raising the capacity to introduce, assimilate, digest and spread new technologies; 3) fulfilling the need to apply new technology promptly to production; 4) improving enterprise quality and propelling the development and reform of teaching units.

The meeting felt that appropriate policies and measures constitute the key to the success of continuing education. Primarily, continuing education must be closely integrated with the need of the work posts, combining study with practical work, studying for the purpose of application, and seeking actual results. Next, the texts, substance and teaching methods must have their own characteristics in order to adapt to and satisfy the demands of students. Third, the state must subsidize the cost with special allocations. As the direct beneficiaries of continuing education, the employing units should provide most of the cost and guarantee the conditions. Fourth, a system for postgraduate advanced studies must be created, and the time of study guaranteed. Fifth, continuing education should be made a requirement for promotion. Students attaining middle and advanced professional levels by means of continuing education should be recognized as qualified for commensurate functions.

Attending the meeting were responsible comrades of units which had made certain achievements in continuing education, including Qinghua, Nankai and Shanghai Second Industrial Universities, Dalian Engineering College, Harbin Ship Engineering College, Shanghai Municipal Higher Education Bureau, and Ministries of Coal Industry and Electronics Industry. Vice Minister Zou Shiyan [6760 2514 3508] of the State Education Commission attended the meeting to hear the views and made a statement.

6080
CSO: 4005/137

JOURNAL REVIEWS MAJOR EVENTS OF LAST DECADE

HK131520 Beijing BAN YUE TAN in Chinese No 18, 25 Sep 86 pp 4-16

[Article by editorial department: "Seventeen Major Events in Last 10 Years"]

[Text] Editor's note: The 10 years since the smashing of the "gang of four" have been 10 years of enormous changes in Chinese history. During these 10 years, and particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the various principal events which took place in the motherland had wide repercussions both here and abroad, and were extensively written and recorded about. This journal selected 17 major events that could be described as 17 milestones. They recorded the CPC's historic tracks in leading the Chinese people toward prosperity for the country and happiness for the people. [End editor's note]

1. The entire country launches a huge discussion on the criteria of truth.

2. The CPC holds the historic 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

3. Public trial of the principal offenders of the Lin Biao, Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques.

4. The CPC Central Committee correctly evaluates Comrade Mao Zedong's place in history and Mao Zedong Thought.

5. The rural areas implement a system of contracted responsibility on the household basis, with payment linked to output.

6. Economic structural reform focused on urban areas was launched comprehensively.

7. The policy of opening up to the outside world is implemented.

8. The 12th CPC Congress proposed the economic development strategy and objective of quadrupling the annual total output value of industry and agriculture by the end of this century.

9. The concept of "one country, two systems" was advanced, and the question of recovering China's sovereignty over Hong Kong was successfully settled.

10. A new constitution was formulated, and the socialist legal system was perfected.

11. The CPC carries out party rectification.

12. A new generation takes up leading posts, while cooperation between the old and the new and succession from old to new were smoothly realized.

13. Reform of the scientific-technological system as well as of the educational system.

14. The creation of an atmosphere of democracy, harmony, and concord within the ideological sphere.

15. China's frontier troops successfully carried out self-defensive operations against Vietnam.

16. The PLA reduces its troops by a million, and the army's construction undergoes strategic change.

17. The foreign policy is readjusted, strengthened and perfected, while a diplomacy of peace based on independence and self-initiative is implemented.

1. The Entire Country Launches a Huge Discussion on the Criteria of Truth.

On 11 May 1978, GUANGMING RIBAO published a special commentator's article suggesting that practice is the sole criterion for judging truth. After its publication, the article touched off strong reactions from all parts of the country. The country's newspapers and journals, academic circles, party committees at all localities and at all levels as well as several concerned departments successively carried out extensive discussions on the criteria of truth. Lasting some 2 years or more, the great discussions enabled many people to be emancipated from the spiritual shackles created by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" as well as from the trammels of the "two whatevers" ideology, and thus restored the original features of the Marxist theory of knowledge. This is actually a movement for the emancipation of the mind.

The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee highly appraised this extensive discussion and deemed that it had far reaching significance in promoting the ideological emancipation of all party members and of all people, as well as in correcting the ideological line.

2. The CPC Holds the Historic 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee was held from 18 to 22 December 1978. It reestablished the party's Marxist political, ideological,

and organizational lines. The conference steadfastly criticized the erroneous "two whatevers" guideline, and determined the guiding principle of emancipating the mind, using one's brains, seeking truth from facts, uniting as one and looking forward. It resolutely decided to cease using the slogan "taking class struggle as the key link" which no longer applies to socialist society, and set the strategic [word indistinct] of shifting the focus of work onto socialist modernization and construction. At the same time, the conference discussed some major events that took place during the "cultural revolution," examined and resolved a series of principal unjust, false, and erroneous verdicts in the party's history as well as the issue of merits and faults of some important leaders.

This conference marked a historic turning point of profound significance in our party's history since the founding of the PRC. With this conference, the party took hold of the initiative to bring order out of chaos, calculatedly resolved many problems left over by history as well as new problems which cropped up in practical life since the founding of the PRC, carried out enormous construction and reforms, and made possible the resurgence of a good situation in our country's economy and politics.

3. Public Trial of the Principal Offenders of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing Counterrevolutionary Cliques.

A special court of the Supreme People's Court created in accordance with the resolution of the NPC Standing Committee opened session on 20 November 1980 and began the public trial of the ten principals of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques, namely: Jiang Qing, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, Wang Hongwen, Chen (? Bo), Huang Yongshen, Wu Faxian, Li Quopeng, Qiu Huizuo, and Jiang Tengjiao.

After more than 2 months of hearings, the special court of the Supreme People's Court pronounced its sentence on 25 January 1981, condemning the 10 principals to death, with 2 years reprieve, to life sentences, and fixed terms of imprisonment, respectively.

The public trial of the principals of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques upheld justice and brought immense satisfaction to the people. It demonstated that no matter how tortuous and arduous the paths may be, the people's will will eventually triumph, justice will be upheld, and evil eradicated. This is the natural course of history's development.

4. The CPC Central Committee Correctly Evaluates Comrade Mao Zedong's Place in History and Mao Zedong Thought.

The 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee held in June 1981 approved the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of our Party Since the Founding of the PRC." The "Resolution" thoroughly repudiated the "cultural revolution" and correctly evaluated Comrade Mao Zedong's place in history and Mao Zedong Thought. It pointed out: Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist, a great proletarian revolutionary, strategist and theoretician.

While he committed serious errors during the "cultural revolution", judging his whole life, his contributions to the Chinese Revolution far exceed his mistakes. He made enormous contributions to the Chinese people's revolutionary cause as well as to the cause of the liberation of the world's oppressed nations. Mao Zedong Thought is the valuable spiritual wealth of our party and we must continue to adhere to Mao Zedong Thought.

5. The Rural Areas Implement a System of Contracted Responsibility on the Household Basis, With Payment Linked To Output.

Since 1979, various forms of contracted responsibility system have appeared in succession in our country's rural areas, and the CPC Central Committee fully endorsed this great pioneering undertaking of our country's peasants. The system of contracted responsibility on the household basis, with payment linked to output, gradually became the principal form of our country's agricultural production.

Starting in 1982, the party Central Committee issued five "Documents No 1" on implementation of rural reforms for 5 consecutive years, and ceaselessly summarized and perfected the agricultural production's responsibility system. It also made important decisions to "never neglect grain production, positively develop diversified operations," promote specialized households, as well as town and village enterprises, reform the purchase and sale system of secondary farm products, and reform the people's commune system.

The implementation of the system of contracted responsibility on the household basis in the rural areas liberated the rural productive force, vigorously propelled the development of agricultural production, and fundamentally resolved the food and clothing problems of 1 billion population within a few years. Our rural areas underwent earthshaking changes.

6. Economic Structural Reform Focused on Urban Areas Was Launched Comprehensively.

After the successful experiments in rural reforms, the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee held in October 1984 decided to carry out overall reform of the economic structure, and adopted the "CPC Central Committee's Decision on Economic Structural Reform".

For 2 years, the economic structural reform focused on urban areas shattered the monolithic economic pattern, carried out bureaucratic streamlining and delegation of authority, promoted horizontal economic association, executed preliminary reform of the price system, smashed the two "eating from the same big pot" systems, and allowed enterprises to clearly buoy up their vitality. The initial success in reforms made possible the fundamental achievement of a basic improvement in our country's financial and economic situation. A new picture of continuous, stable, and harmonious development has begun to appear in the national economy. We have started to discover a path for the construction of socialism with Chinese characteristics.

7. A Policy of Opening Up to the Outside World Is Implemented.

Since 1980, our country has set up four special economic zones in Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shantou and Xiamen; in 1984 and 1985, it decided to open up 14 coastal cities and Hainan Island, as well as gradually opening up the Changjiang Delta, Zhujiang Delta and the Southern Fujian Delta. These special zones and open cities serve as our country's "window" to link up the inland and the world.

The implementation of the policy of opening up to the outside world broke the long time closed door situation, and enabled our country to take full advantage of various international economic conditions, to incorporate the strong points of others and made up for our own weak points. In recent years, our country made gigantic strides in foreign trade and in economic and technical cooperation with foreign countries, thus forcefully promoting our country's socialist modernization and construction.

8. The 12th CPC Congress Proposed the Economic Development Strategy and Objective of Quadrupling the Annual Total Output Value of Industry and Agriculture by the End of This Century.

In his report before the 12th CPC Congress held in September 1982, Comrade Hu Yaobang put forward that in the 20 years from 1981 to the end of this century, the principal objective of our country's economic construction is: under the premise of continuously raising economic efficiency, the country is to strive to quadruple the annual total output value of industry and agriculture; that is, an increase from 1980's 710 billion yuan to 2,800 billion yuan in the year 2,000.

The advancement of this grandiose strategic goal stimulated the enthusiasm of the people to open up a new situation in socialist modernization and construction with one heart and soul, and strengthened their faith in building a brighter future.

In accordance with the program to quadruple output value in 20 years, the total output value in industry and agriculture should increase by 7.2 percent annually in order to achieve this strategic goal. The first 5 years of implementation resulted in an average annual increase of 11 percent in the country's total output value in industry and agriculture from 1981 to 1985.

9. The Advancement of the "One Country, Two Systems" Concept, and the Successful Settlement of the Question of Recovering China's Sovereignty Over Hong Kong.

In order to achieve the peadeful reunification of the motherland, successful settlement of the questions of Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao, and in accordance with the world's actual and historical conditions as well as of China's conditions, the CPC Central Committee advanced the "one country, two systems" concept. It means that within the People's Republic of China, the mainland's 1 billion people will implement the socialist system, while Hong Kong and Taiwan will pursue the capitalist system. Based on this concept,

our government negotiated with the British Government, and signed a joint declaration on 19 December 1984 which successfully settled the Hong Kong issue. China will resume sovereignty over Hong Kong on 1 July 1997.

The successful resolution of the Hong Kong issue is a major step toward achieving the peaceful reunification of the motherland, and is of important inspiration to the resolution of the Taiwan and Macao issues. At the same time, it also provided fresh experience to the peaceful settlement of international disputes and of problems left over by history.

10. A New Constitution Is Drafted and the Socialist Legal System Is Perfected.

Owing to the serious lessons drawn from the lawless anarchy during the "cultural revolution," the people all over the country worked a great deal in order to strengthen the socialist legal system. Following 2 years of repeated discussions and amendments throughout the country, the fifth session of the Fifth NPC on 4 December 1982 approved the fourth constitution drafted since the founding of the PRC. The new constitution embodies the fundamental laws which have Chinese characteristics, are suitable to the demands of socialist modernization and construction in the new historical period, and are of long term stability.

Since 1979, the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee have successively formulated more than 50 laws, while the State Council has enacted some 400 administrative regulations; and provincial, municipal and autonomous regional people's congresses and their respective standing committees have created more than 700 local regulations. Today, there exist laws to rule the fundamental and major aspects of national and social life in the country.

11. The Communist Party of China Carries out Party Rectification.

In October 1983, the CPC Central Committee decided that starting in the winter of that year, an overall readjustment of the party's workstyle and organization will be carried out in 3 years' time in order to achieve the objective of unity of thought, readjustment of workstyle, strengthening of discipline and purification of the organization. At present, party rectification in central, provincial, local, and county level leading bodies as well as in enterprises and industries, colleges, and universities, scientific research institutes and other units corresponding to local and county levels is complete. Regional, village, and town grassroot units are carrying out party rectification. Party rectification has fostered unity, reform, and economic development.

The CPC Central Committee convened a conference of central organs' cadres in Beijing from 6 to 9 January 1986. It called on all party members and cadres of central party, government, and military organs to play an exemplary role for the entire country and struggle for the fundamental improvement in party workstyle.

12. A New Generation Takes Up Leading Posts, While Cooperation Between Old and New and Succession from Old to New Are Smoothly Realized.

On 10 April 1982, the State Council issued some regulations on the system of retirement and departure from office of old cadres, and implemented the retirement system all over the country.

The 4th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee held in September 1985 approved the requests of 131 old comrades to cease membership in regular or alternate capacity in the three commissions of the CPC Central Committee. Today, more than 2 million cadres all over the country have retired due to advanced age.

From the CPC Central Committee, the State Council to the ministries and departments, from the provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions to the localities and counties, from the PLA's three general departments, the arms and services, and military regions to the divisions--a new generation possessing both ability and political integrity, young, vigorous, and energetic have taken up leading posts at all levels. At present, more than 2 million cadres were chosen from young and middle-aged persons of comparatively higher educational level to assume leading posts all over the country.

13. Reform of the Scientific-technological System as Well as of the Educational System.

Speaking before the National Science Conference on 18 March 1978, Comrade Deng Xiaoping clarified the major confusions caused by the "gang of four" on the question of knowledge and of intellectuals. He pointed out: "Science and technology are productive forces. This has historically been the Marxist point of view," "mental workers who serve socialism are also part of the working people." Henceforth, respect for knowledge and for talented people has won greater attention from society and the people.

After the comprehensive implementation of economic structural reform, and in order to adapt to the demands of reform and economic development, the CPC Central Committee decided to reform the scientific and technological system as well as the educational system on 13 March and 27 May 1985, respectively. The former aims to promote the rapid and broad application of scientific-technological results in production, and thus foster economic and social development; the latter's purpose is to improve the nation's qualities, produce more talent and good talent. These two decisions embodied the great importance attached by our party to science and education, and will have far-reaching effects on the development of our country's science, technology, and education.

14. The Creation of an Atmosphere of Democracy, Harmony, and Concord Within the Ideological Sphere.

After the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee our party firmly carried out the guideline of "letting a hundred flowers bloom, letting

a hundred thoughts contend" in the arts and literature, ideological, and theoretical circles. It promoted democracy, and refrained from launching campaigns, wielding the big stick, putting labels on people, and persecuting people.

In his congratulatory address before the fourth delegates' convention of the Chinese Writers Association on 29 December 1984, Hu Qili, member of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee, pointed out that there should be freedom in literary and artistic creation. It is necessary that our party, government, literary, and artistic organizations as well as the entire society firmly ensure that writers can freely develop their creativity and serve both the people and socialism. Speaking at a forum with comrades from the literature and arts circle of Shanghai in April 1986, Hu Qili also said that an atmosphere of democracy, harmony, and concord is needed for socialist literature and arts to prosper.

The creation of an atmosphere of democracy, harmony, and concord within the ideological sphere is favorable to giving full play to the intellectual's initiative and creativity, and to pushing forward cultural, artistic and academic prosperity.

15. China's Frontier Troops Successfully Carried Out Self-Defense Operations Against Vietnam.

Since August 1978, in disregard of the repeated appeals and warnings from our country, the Vietnamese authorities sent armed forces to intrude into our frontier regions and incessantly carried out armed provocations against our country. After February 1979, the Vietnamese authorities' armed intrusion into our country gradually intensified, and the frontier situation worsened drastically. Driven beyond the limits of forbearance, the Chinese People's Liberation Army's Guangxi and Yunnan frontier troops rose to strike back against the Vietnamese invaders. During the self-defense operations, our frontier troops struck down the arrogance of the Vietnamese invaders. On 16 March 1979, our government announced that the initial objectives of the self-defense operations against Vietnam had been realized, and that our frontier troops could be withdrawn completely from Vietnam that same day and return to the country.

During the self-defense operations against Vietnam, a great number of patriotic, courageous, and capable heroes emerged, and the stories of their feats spread far and wide among the people.

16. The PLA Reduces Its Troops by a Million Men, and the Army's Construction Undergoes Strategic Change.

Following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the party and the government made a reappraisal of the interntional situation. Whereas it was thought in the past that world war was inevitable, it is believed today that while the danger of war continues to exist, the growth of the forces for peace has, however, exceeded that of the factors of war, and that world peace can be maintained.

Therefore, the PLA's construction as well as the guiding ideology of the entire national defense underwent strategic transformation. From a state of war preparation based on "fighting a battle early and on a large-scale, and fighting nuclear war," it shifted to the path of construction in peacetime. The entire army underwent structural reform, administrative streamlining and troop reduction. In June 1985, our government announced that the entire army has been reduced by 1 million men. The field army was reorganized into group armies. The people's armed forces department was transferred from the military to the local organizational system. The education at military colleges and academies was completely reformed. The outlook on military training was broadened. There was initiative to take part in economic construction and in the training of dual purpose people.

17. The Foreign Policy Is Readjusted, Strengthened, and Perfected, While a Diplomacy of Peace Based on Independence and Self-initiative Is Implemented.

In accordance with the changes in the development of the international situation, our foreign policy was gradually readjusted, strengthened, and perfected starting 1982, and a diplomacy of peace based on independence and self-initiative was implemented. China opposes hegemonism, safeguards world peace, promotes friendly cooperation with all countries and fosters common economic prosperity. China advocates that all countries are equal, and strive to establish, restore, and develop normal relations with all countries of the world based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence. It does not determine the terms of relations based on distinctions in social system and ideologies. At all times and under all circumstances, China steadfastly adheres to its independence and self-initiative, and defines its positions and policies toward all international issues based on the merits and demerits of the issues themselves. China will definitely not become an appendage of any superpower, and will not ally nor establish stragegic ties with any one side.

China's foreign policy based on independence and self-initiative has earned her more friends and higher international prestige. It vigorously safeguards the cause of world peace and gains an atmosphere of international peace favorable to our country's four modernizations.

/6662
CSO: 4005/092

CADRES' RELUCTANCE TO TAKE LOWER LEVEL JOBS ANALYZED

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 7 Oct 86 p 4

[Text] An article in ZUZHI RENSHI XINXIBAO discusses nine psychological blocks that explain why cadres refuse low-level assignments although they are ready to assume jobs higher up. 1) Inertia and conservatism. The lingering pernicious influences of the leader-for-life system. 2) The habit of keeping up with one another. Some comrades who have taken lower level jobs try to find "reasons" and compare themselves with people in similar situations. 3) Feeling wronged and treated unfairly. Cadres who have managed to stay incorruptible feel that they are being treated unfairly when they are asked to take jobs at lower levels. 4) Pride and eagerness to do well in everything. "Who says I can't make it? Let me have a go in another unit." 5) Selfishness and narrow-mindedness. The fear of social opinion, family pressure, and pay cuts. 6) Vanity and a sense of shame. Some cadres realize their performance on the job is not up to par but resist demotion out of a fear of losing face. 7) The feeling that one does not fit anywhere. There are cadres with no particular skill who believe that they might as well muddle through at the top since they cannot find assignments anywhere else. 8) The mentality of leaving things to chance. Since administrative streamlining and staff retrenchment have been in the air for years, some cadres assume they can survive again this time by lying low. 9) The idea that honesty does not pay. During past campaigns, cadres who were transferred to lower levels to do manual work, or who refused to go were promoted and had their pay raised all the same. Better to refuse to budge for the time being and see what happens.

12581
CSO: 4005/125

HU YAOBANG EXHORTS CADRES TO IMPROVE KNOWLEDGE

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 8 Oct 86 p 5

[Article: "Hu Yaobang Urges Cadres to Increase Knowledge in Sciences"]

[Text] When discussing recently the quality of cadres, CPC General Secretary Hu Yaobang declared: "As a whole, the scientific knowledge of leading and ordinary cadres at the central and provincial levels is deficient."

According to information in ZUZHI RENSHI XINXI BAO [ORGANIZATION AND PERSONNEL NEWS], Hu Yaobang made an important comment on personnel work in a recent letter: "Almost daily some specific matters in personnel work have to be handled. In handling them, we must strive to be fair and reasonable, and act strictly where strictness is appropriate and flexibly where flexibility is appropriate. What should not or cannot be handled must also be explained clearly, so that everyone is happy."

When discussing the quality of cadres, he said: Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, to improve the quality of the large numbers of cadres, we have stressed the importance of knowledge. Which is correct.

He pointed out: Knowledge includes three aspects: modern economics and operation and management; modern science and technology; and basic Marxism-Leninism, or modern social sciences.

He declared: "In recent years, to improve the cadres' cultural, scientific and technological knowledge, we have adopted some measures, such as enrolling them in college and sending them abroad to study and observe, and we must continue to do so. We have no objection to studying or making observation trips abroad. What we oppose are the unhealthy tendencies. Whether a cadre has or has not made an observation trip abroad makes a difference in his perspective. However, there is a problem in practical work: the failure to proceed in two aspects, namely, scaling upward and penetrating downward. Scaling upward refers to mastery of modern scientific and cultural knowledge. While scaling upward, one must not forget to penetrate downward, going deep into the realities of life. The two aspects must be properly combined. In the course of construction, our 20 million-plus cadres are deficient in both aspects. They are deficient in both modern scientific and practical knowledge

and in understanding national conditions. Do we not say "neither can be missing?" But when "both are missing," it becomes even worse.

He then discussed the growth of cadres. He said: "I feel that there have to be two requirements: first, fairly abundant modern scientific knowledge, including knowledge in Marxism; second, practical experience and practical knowledge. Thus, we advocate that cadres, instead of concentrating on only one, exert themselves in both aspects. With just book knowledge alone, without practical knowledge, it will be very difficult to perform leadership work.

6080
CSO: 4005/136

LAW DRAFTED TO PROTECT RIGHTS OF DISABLED

OW3122O1 Beijing XINHUA in English 1619 GMT 31 Oct 86

[Text] Beijing, 31 Oct (XINHUA)--Government authorities are drafting a law to protect the rights and interests of the country's disabled people, a leading official said today.

Deng Pufang, director-in-chief of the China Welfare Fund for the Handicapped, told participants in a national conference on jobs for the handicapped that the law would only be conducive to their employment but also to the development of the work for the handicapped of the country as a whole, the director-in-chief said. [sentence as received] Draft of the law is to be presented to the country's supreme legislative organ for approval next year.

The work for the handicapped has aroused increasing concern of the whole society in the past few years, he said. One of the manifestations, he said, is that government institutions and big state-owned and collective enterprises also offered to help more handicapped find jobs. In the past, he noted, only civil affairs departments at various levels are responsible for the work.

In Beijing, more public facilities have been renovated to make it convenient for handicapped people. Four major streets in the city's downtown districts have become "no obstacle" streets for the handicapped. Ramps have been built before 18 large stores and 27 pedestrian crossings in Wangfujing Street, one of the shopping centres of the city.

Special bus signboards for blind people were also established in addition to installing some sound indicator for blind people to cross streets. Such establishments will also be installed in some hospitals, cinemas, parks, libraries and public toilets.

However, Deng Pufang stated, the work for the handicapped is still lagging behind the economic and social development of the country. For example, he added, the handicapped find it more difficult for them to find work or to continue in their present jobs.

/9274
CSO: 4000/045

REPORTAGE ON DEATH OF MARSHAL YE JIANYING

XINHUA Biography

OW291909 Beijing XINHUA in English 1621 GMT 29 Oct 86

[Text] Beijing, 29 October (XINHUA)--Ye Jianying: A Great and Brilliant Life.

Ye Jiangying passed away as a long-tested loyal fighter of communism, great proletarian revolutionary, statesman and strategist and one of the founders of the People's Liberation Army and an outstanding leader of the party and state. He made magnificent contributions to the liberation and socialist cause of the Chinese people during the revolutionary struggles for more than half a century. Ye was a highly-respected founder of the People's Republic of China and an eminent leader of the party, the state and the army. His was a great and brilliant life.

I

Ye Jianying was born on 28 Arpil 1897 in Yanyangpu, Meixian County, Guangdong Province. Influenced by the 1911 revolution, he was determined to dedicate himself to the service of his country when he was studying in the Bincun Sanpu School and the Meixian Dongshan Middle School. In 1916, he went to Southeast Asia with his father. He returned to China the next year and enrolled himself in a military school in Yunnan Province. Upon graduation he followed Sun Yat-sen and threw himself into China's democratic revolution.

He took part in the battle led by Sun Yat-sen to drive out the Quangxi warlords in the summer of 1920. In October the following year, he accompanied Sun Yat-sen, then the provisional president of the Republic of China, on an inspection tour of Guangxi Province.

In June 1922, warlord Chen Jiongming betrayed Sun Yat-sen. Ye Jianying, a marine corps battalion commander at the time, led his men to escort Sun Yat-sen out of danger and fight the rebels heroically. Later, he went to Fujian Province to become chief of staff of the Eighth Brigade of the East Punitive Army before he returned to Guangdong with his troops to fight Chen Jiongming's forces.

Invited by Liao Zhongkai, a member of the Kuomintang left wing, Ye Jianying, then chief of staff of the second division of the Guangdong Army, joined others in early 1924 to prepare for the setting up of the Huangpu Military academy and served as deputy director of its Teaching Department. He was one of the prestigeous instructors at the academy.

At that time Ye was receptive to Marxism-Leninsim and expressed his willingness to join the Communist Party of China.

In 1925, Ye took part in the two expeditions against Chen Jiongming. He was brave and resolute in command and showed his military talent.

In July 1926, Ye participated in the northern expedition (1926-1927). He first served as chief of staff of the General Reserve Force under the First Army of the National Revolutionary Army. After storming Nanchang, he was promoted to commander of the reorganized second division.

When Chiang Kai-shek staged the counterrevolutionary coup d'etat in Shanghai on 12 April 1927, Ye sent an open telegram against Chiang. Then he went to Wuhan to serve as chief of staff of the Fourth Army of the National Revolutionary Army. In July Ye Jianying joined the communist party secretly despite the white terror.

II

Before the Nanchang uprising in 1927, Ye Jianying got word that Wang Jingwei was plotting to persecute Ye Ting and He Long, he risked his life to find the two generals and consulted with them on what to do. It was decided that the armed forces under Ye Ting and He Long march onto Nanchang to foil the enemy plot. The Nanchang uprising was staged as planned. After the insurrectionary troops left Nanchang, Ye Jianying persuaded Zhang Fakui not to pursue the insurrectionary troops. In early August, Ye concurrently served as the commander of the cadets corps of the Fourth Army, making it the main force in the coming Guangzhou uprising. Later, he succeeded in expanding the guards regiment and introducing Liang Bingshu, a communist, to be its commander. This regiment also joined the uprising.

On 11 December 1927, Ye and Zhang Tailei and Ye Ting led the Guangzhou uprising. Ye Jianying served as the deputy commander-in-chief of the workers and peasants Red Army. The Guangzhou uprising, together with the Nanchang and autumn uprisings, marked the beginning of the second civil war and the establishment of the Chinese workers and peasants Red Army.

In the winter of 1928, Ye Jianying went to the Soviet Union to attend a special class in the Communist Labor University. He returned to China in the autumn of 1930. Early next year, he arrived in the central Soviet area in Jiangsi Province. In the following years, he served as member and chief of staff of the Central Revolutionary Military Committee, chief of staff of the First Front Red Army, commander of the Fujian and Jiangxi military area and Fujian military area, and participated in directing the Red Army to smash the second, third, and fourth campaigns of the "encirclement and suppression" against the central Soviet area launched by Chiang Kai-shek's troops. During this period, he also acted as president and political commissar of the Academy of the Chinese Workers and Peasants Red Army where a large number of political and military cadres were trained.

The central Red Army started its famous long march in October 1934. Ye commanded the first column under the Military Committee. He was wounded during an

enemy bombing when his troops entered the mountains in Guangxi Province. However, he still directed battles against the enemy.

The enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee was held at Zunyi, Guizhou Province, in January 1935. At this crucial juncture, Ye resolutely supported Mao Zedong's correct stand. In March the same year, he was appointed chief of staff of the Third Army group. In July he became the chief of staff of the Red Army Frontline Headquarters.

In August 1935, the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee held a meeting at Maoergai and decided to divide the Red Army into the left and right columns to corss the grasslands northward to southern Gansu. But Zhang Guotao who led the left column conducted activities to split the party and the Red Army and refused to carry out the party's policy of going northward while plotting to endanger the party Central Committee. Ye Jianying saw through the plot and reported the matter to Mao Zedong. The Central Committee held an emergency meeting at Baxi and decided to lead the main force of the First Front Army northward, thus escaping the danger. Ye protected the party Central Committee at this critical moment. For many times later Mao Zedong praised Ye's move as a great merit for the party and the revolution.

In mid-September, Ye Jianying served as chief of staff of the reorganized Shaanxi-Gansu detachment of the Chinese workers and peasants Red Army. When the central Red Army reached northern Shaanxi, Ye served as chief of staff of the First Front Army of the Red Army and the Military Committee.

In 1936, as the anti-Japanese vanguards crossed the Yellow River to its eastern banks, Ye led his troops in the middle section to pin down the enemy's main force, thus aiding the military actions of the left and right columns. In July the same year, Ye was sent by the party Central Committee to Ansai to get in touch with the Kuomintang Northeast Army in an attempt to push it to fight the Japanese invaders. In September, he was sent to Xian to contact patriotic forces there. Generals Zhang Xueliang and Yang Hucheng initiated the "Xian incident" on 12 December. Ye Jianying assisted Zhou Enlai in implementing the party's correct policy of settling the incident peacefully, and compelling Chiang Kai-shek to cease civil war. Thus the Kuomintang and the communist party came to cooperate for the second time, this time in fighting the Japanese invasion.

III

The war of resistance against Japan broke out in July 1937. In August, Ye Jianying went ot Nanjing together with Zhou Enlai and Zhu De to participate in a national defence meeting called by Chiang Kai-shek. Ye served as chief of staff when the Red Army was redesignated as the Eighth Route Army. In October, he became the army's representative in Nanjing, actively working to expand the National United Front against Japan in Kuomintang-controlled areas. He also helped Zhou Enlai in rescuing many revolutionary comrades imprisoned by the Kuomintang, most of whom later became key members of the party leadership.

From 1937 to 1941, as a member of the Changjiang Bureau and the Southern Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, Ye Jianying disseminated the

party's anti-Japanese propositions in Kuomintang-controlled areas, made extensive contacts with upper-strata members of the Kuomintang and took part in negotiations with the Kuomintang on many occasions.

In February 1939, Ye participated in starting the Kuomintang Nanyue Guerrilla Officers Training Class and served as its deputy chief of the Education Department. At the class, he taught strategies and tactics on guerrilla warfare in the war of resistance against Japanese aggression, dessiminating the concept of protracted war, which exerted far-reaching influences on the struggle.

Ye Jianying attended a national conference of chiefs of staff called by Chiang Kai-shek in Chongqing in March 1940. In his long speech entitled "problems on fighting and friction" at the conference, Ye cited a host of facts to publicize the Eighth Route Army's struggle against Japan and refute the rumours and slanders fabricated by Kuomintang diehards against the Eighth Route Army, winning wide sympathy. For this, he was reputed as "winner of verbal debates among many scholars." A "collection of Ye Jianying's remarks on anti-Japanese War" was published this year.

Ye returned to Yanan from Chongqing in February 1941 to act as chief of staff of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee and chief of staff of the 18th Group Army. Correctly judging the times and sizing up the situation, he made meticulous plans to assist Mao Zedong and Commander-in-Chief Zhu De in directing battles against Japanese invaders. Ye paid much importance to strengthening the work of chief of staff of the army, for which he formulated a series of regulations and measures. In November, he served as a member of the Central Education Committee and deputy commandant of the Military Academy.

When the Kuomintang diehards staged the third upsurge against the Chinese Communist Party in June and July of 1943, he put forward to the Central Committee a plan of winning the battle by using political tactics and launching propaganda warfare. This played an important role in defeating the Kuomintang's anti-communist ursurge.

On behalf of the Central Committee, Ye Jianying gave a group of Chinese and foreign correspondents of the U.S. Army observation group to Yanan a detailed account of the military situation and military exploits of the Eight Route Army in areas behind the enemy's frontline on 22 June 1944, forcefully refuting the slanders fabricated by Kuomintang diehards and exerting widespread influence internally and externally.

Ye was elected to the Central Committee at the Seventh National Congress of the communist party in the summer of 1945

IV

After the victory in the anti-Japanese war in 1945, Ye Jianying participated in negotiations with the Kuomintang on many occasions. In December of the same year, the CPC Central Committee sent a delegation headed by Zhou Enlai to the Political Consultative Conference in Chongqing. Ye Jianying was a member of the delegation.

In January 1946, Ye Jianying, as representative of the Chinese Communist Party in the Beiping Fxecutive Headquarters for military mediation, mediated clashes between the communist party and the Kuomintang and supervised the endorsement of the truce agreement signed, with the Kuomintang and the American representative. Ye and other comrades in the executive headquarters waged arduous and complicated struggles and won a series of victories. At the same time they contacted by every possible means with patriotic democrats in various quarters, expanding the united front against Chiang Kai-shek.

Ye Jianying returned to Yanan from Beiping in February 1947. In March Ye went to northwest Shanxi Province to become the secretary of the Rear Area Committee of the CPC Central Committee.

From July to September Ye Jianying attended a natinal land conference and delivered a military report. In December Ye attended a working conference of the Central Committee in Mizhi County. He and Ren Bishi cochaired the discussion on the land issue.

When he worked in the Rear Areas Committee, he correctly implemented the party Central Committee's policy on land reform, actively assisted the central leadership to carry out the nationwide liberation war, thus making contributions to ensuring the party and Central Committee and Mao Zedong to fight in north Shaanxi and direct the battles across the country.

Ye became president and political commissar of the North China Military and Political College in May 1948. As he formulated a correct education policy and stressed to select good teachers, practise democratic teaching and train cadres according to the need of actual combat, the college trained large numbers of competent military and political cadres for the army.

In early 1949, Ye Jainying served as the chairman of the Beiping Military Control Committee and its mayor. Together with Nie Rongzhen and Peng Zhen, he brought about the peaceful liberation of the city and led the reorganization of the old army, the taking over of the government, army, schools and industrial and mining enterprises in the old city and worked for the municipal construction, maintaining social stability, resuming and developing production and improving cultural and educational establishments, thus laying a foundation for the development of the capital's construction.

In April, he joined the central delegation headed by Zhou Enlai to enter into peaceful negotiations with the delegation of the Nanjing Kuomintang Government led by Zhang Zhizhong. The two sides reached a "domestic peace agreement," which the Nanjing government rejected.

In August, the CPC Central Committee appointed Ye Jianying to be the first secretary of the South China Subbureau, commander and political commissar of the Guangdong Military Area.

V

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese people's Liberation Army, under the command of Ye Jianying and Chen Geng, launched the

Guangdong campaign in early October. Guangzhou was liberated on 14 October. Ye held successively posts including chairman of the Guangdong Provincial People's Government and mayor of Guangzhou, vice-chairman of the Central-South Military and Administrative Committee, commander of the South China Military Region, acting commander of the Central-South Military Region and acting secretary of the Central-South Bureau of the CPC Central Committee.

From the end of 1949 to 1953, he led the struggle to suppress bandits, economic construction and democratic reform in the South-China area. He also exerted himself to guiding Guangzhou's municipal construction and other major work, and made remarkable achievements.

In February 1950, he led the work to map out the fighting strategy and plans for the camapign to lbierate Hainan Island. The PLA liberated the island on 1 May.

From the spring of 1950, he began to lead the land reform in Guangdong. History shows that the policies including policies of attaching importance to protecting the interests of national industrialists and merchants, which he worked out according to the principles and policies of the party Central Committee and in line with the actual conditions of Guangdong Province, were absolutely correct. He also served as director of the South-China Bureau of Reclamation and Planting and led the work to develop the country's rubber and other tropical plants production.

After he was transferred to Beijing in October 1954, Ye served successively as vice-chairman of the Revolutionary Military Council of the central people's government, vice-chairman of the National Defense Council of the People's Republic of China and director of the Armed Forces Supervision Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

In April 1955, Ye became acting director of the General Training Supervision Department, taking charge of the whole army's military training. He stressed the necessity of proceeding from the needs of actual combat and conducting military training under modern conditions so as to turn the PLA into a regular, modernized and fine revolutionary army.

In September, he was made a marshal of the People's Republic of China.

In November, Ye organized and directed a military exercise in the Liaodong Peninsula, probing ways to conduct training and operation under the conditions of modern warfare.

In June 1956, he chaired a meeting of the military academies and schools. He stressed the great significance of running well the academies and schools to the modernization of the army.

In September he attended the Eighth National Congress of the CPC and was re-elected to the Central Committee.

In December 1956, he led a military delegation to visit Burma. Later, he also led military delegations to visit the Soviet Union, India, Poland and other

countries. These visits helped promote the friendship between the Chinese Army and the armies and peoples of these countries.

In March 1958, he was entrusted to establish the academy of military sciences and became president and political commissar of the academy. He directed the work to set up the correct principles, policies and methods for military scientific research, to build a contingent of scientific research cadres and to train a large number of scientific research personnel. In the same year, he became president of the advanced military academy. He was an outstanding strategist, military educator and pioneer of modern military scientific research of the Chinese Army.

In September 1959, he became a Standing Committee member of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee.

In 1960, he became chairman of the Committee of Military Training and Military Scientific Research under the Military Commission. He firmly implemented the strategic principle of active defense formulated by the party Central Committee and Mao Zedong and directed and participated in the national defense studies. He put forward the idea that military training should be combined with military scientific research and that laws governing warfare under modern conditions should be explored mainly through summing up the experience of the PLA. Under his direction, a series of regulations for the PLA were formulated. He also directed the development of military science and technology and made an all-round contribution to building the PLA into a powerful, modernized and regular one and the upholding and development of Mao Zedong military thinking.

In December 1963, he proposed that the Guo Xingfu teaching method be spread in the whole army. His proposal was approved by Mao Zedong and the Military Commission. This led to an upsurge of mass training throughout the army with remarkable achievements.

In 1965, he became a vice-chairman of the Fourth National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

In January 1966, he became vice-chairman of the military commission. In May he served on the secretariat of the CPC Central Committee and acted as secretary-general of the Military Commission, taking care of its day-to-day operations. In August he was elected to the Political Bureau at the 11th Plenary Session of the 8th Central Committee of the CPC

VI

During the 10-year turmoil of the "cultural revolution," Ye Jianying waged indomitable struggles against the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques in various forms. In the early days of the "cultural revolution," he took a number of measures within his powers to uphold party leadership, stabilize the army and protect veteran cadres. At the Central Working Conference in October 1966, he spoke again and again against disturbing the army. On 13 November, he criticized the erroneous practices of that period in a speech at a meeting attended by 100,000 people from military schools and cultural and sports organizations held in the Beijing Workers' Stadium. On 29 November, he delivered

another speech sternly condemning acts of beating, smashing and looting, at a meeting attended by teachers and students of military schools held in the same stadium. He instructed the military museum to preserve the pictures of Comrades Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping in the exhibition hall, to counter the evil acts of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and others to incite people to "overthrow Liu and Deng. [quotations as received]

At a meeting of the Political Bureau in January 1967, Ye made a speech on stabilizing the armed forces. After the meeting, holding a statistical chart showing the military units above sub-military regions under attack, Ye reprimanded Jiang Qing by saying: "Domestic trouble is bound to lead to foreign invasion," and "to stabilize the armed forces is in the fundamental interest of the party and the state." At a meeting of the Military Commission held on 20 January, he denounced with the force of justice Jiang Qing, Kang Sheng and Chen Boda for their crimes of overthrowing veteran cadres, opposing the party and disturbing the army. He pounded the table with so much force that he broke a finger bone. After a fierce struggle, Ye Jianying presided over the formulation of an eight-point order of the Military Commission, which was issued for execution upon the approval of Chairman Mao. This played a significant role in stabilizing the situation at that time. At a meeting of the Political Bureau held on 14 February, he reprimanded Kang Sheng, Chen Boda, Zhang Chunqiao and others: "You have disturbed the party and the government and the factories and rural areas. You are not satisfied with that. You also want to disturb the armed forces. What the devil are you at by doing so?" Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and others fabulously charged the resistance by Ye Jianying and other veteran comrades against the "cultural revolution" as an "adverse current in February." Ye Jianying was subject to attack and persecution and was actually removed from the leading posts in the party Central Committee and the army.

At the First Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the party held in April 1969, Ye was elected to the Political Bureau at the proposal of Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and other comrades. Entrusted by Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, Ye Jianying and Chen Yi, Xu Xiangqian and Nie Rongzhen made a comprehensive and in-depth analysis of the complicated international situation from June to October and put forward views and suggestions of strategic importance as to how to open up a new chapter in the country's foreign affairs work. In October of the same year, he was driven out of Beijing by Lin Biao on the ground of preparations against war. The ailing marshal moved from Hunan to Quangdong and other places, experiencing untold sufferings.

In August and September 1970, he attended the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the party held at Lushan and fought resolutely against the plot of Lin Biao, Chen Boda and others to usurp power. After the meeting, Ye Jianying, acting on instructions of Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, led a group to Fujian, Guangdong, Quangxi, Hunan and Hubei to investigate into Chen Boda's reactionary history so as to expose his true features as a political swindler.

After Lin Biao's betrayal and flight in 1971, Ye Jianying again took charge of the day-to-day operations of the Military Commission in the capacity of its vice-chairman and played an important role in stabilizing the situation in the whole country and the army.

In July 1971, Ye Jianying was entrusted by Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai to receive Henry Kissinger, special adviser to the U.S. president on national security, who was on a secret visit to China. In 1972, he took part in the reception of U.S. President Richard Nixon and Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka. In 1973, he also assisted Zhou Enlai to recieve Kissinger on his second visit to China. Ye made important contribution to establishing Sino-U.S. and Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations.

Ye was elected vice-chairman of the party Central Committee at the 1st Plenary Session of the 10th Central Committee of the party in August 1973.

In January 1974, Ye Jianying was entrusted by Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai to direct together with Deng Xiaoping the battle of self-defense on China's Sixha Islands and recovered the islands once occupied by the reactionary South Vietnamese troops.

Ye Jianying was appointed minister of national defense at the first session of the Fourth National People's Congress in January 1975. From June to July, Deng Xiaoping and Ye Jianying presided over an enlarged meeting of the Military Commission which was of historic significance. He made important speeches on the international situation, the reduction of the number of soldiers, the restructuring of the military establishment and the arrangement of the excessive cadres. During the meeting, he had talks with many high-ranking officers, briefing them on Chairman Mao's criticism of the "gang of four" and exposing the plots of Jiang Qing and others to disturb the army behind the back of the party Central Committee. After the meeting, Ye Jianying led a group to readjust the leading bodies of more than 20 high-level units of the army. This created important conditions for the subsequent smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique and the stability of the armed forces and the country.

Early in 1976, Ye was again removed from leading posts in the movement to "criticize Deng and counter the right deviationist trend of reversing past verdicts."

In 1976, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and Mao Zedong died in succession. The Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique stepped up its conspiracy to seize the supreme leadership of the party and state. In October, ath the critical moment when the party and country faced imminent danger, the marshal and other comrades on the Political Bureau took resolute measures to smash the clique according to the wishes of the party and the people and thus rescued the party from the danger. Ye played a decisive role in the struggle which had a bearing on the destiny of the party and the country.

VII

After the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, Ye Jianying, showing great foresight and removing obstacles, insisted on inviting Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun and other long-tested revolutionaries of the older generation to take charge of the leadership of the party and the state at once. He insisted on giving credit to the April 1976 Tiananmen incident as a revolutionary movement and redressing all the wrongly and falsely charged cases.

In March 1977, Ye was again put in charge of the day-to-day work of the Military Commission. With great boldness, he led the army in liquidating the pernicious influences of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing countrerevolutionary cliques. On 31 July, he made an important speech at a meeting held by the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, the State Council and the Military Commission to mark the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Army. He reviewed the army's glorious history in the past 50 years, expounded Mao Zedong's military thinking in a comprehensive and systematic way and put forward the fighting tasks of the army in the new historical period. He was elected vice-chairman of the CPC Central Committee at the 1st Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee in August 1977.

On 5 March 1978, Ye was elected chairman of the Standing Committee of the Fifth National People's Congress at the congress' first session. During panel discussions of the PLA delegation, he urged comrades from the army to uphold Marxism and Leninism, uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat and stick to the socialist road. He stressed that the army must be put under the absolute leadership of the party. While serving as the chairman he received many heads of state and government, parliamentary delegations, army leaders and well-known figures from foreign countries and developed China's friendly ties with these countries.

In December 1978, Ye Jianying, together with Deng Xiaoping and other leaders of the party Central Committee, set things to rights in the party's guiding ideology and reestablished the Marxist ideological, political and organizational lines of the party.

In January 1979, Ye presided over a meeting of the National People's Congress Standing Committee to adopt and issue a "message to compatriots in Taiwan," which states that the reunification of China now fits in with popular feeling and the general trend of development, calls for developing trade, making up for each other's need and creating economic interflow on both sides of the Taiwan straits, and advocating shipping and postal services at an early date.

Ye delivered an important speech on behalf of the CPC Central Committee on 30 September 1979, at a meeting in celebtation of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. He explained China's achievements and errors in the past 30 years, summed up the lessons of the "cultural revolution," criticized the mistage of "two whatevers," pointed out clearly that great attention should be paid to the building of high-developed socialist ethics while building a highly-developed material civilization, and called on the people of the country to unite and march courageously towards the grand goal of the four modernizations.

In September 1980, Ye headed a committee for revising the constitution and directed the formulation of a new constitution which was adopted by the Fifth National People's Congress at its Fifth Session in December 1982. Ye also guided the formulation of 22 laws including the criminal law, the criminal procedural code (for trial implementation), contributing greatly to the improvement and perfection of China's legal system.

On 30 September 1981, Ye issued a famous statement on the policy concerning Taiwan's return to the motherland for the realization of China's peaceful reunification. He specified the nine-point program for the reunification of the country and proposed that talks be held between the communist and the Kuomintang on a reciprocal basis to bring about cooperation for the third time. This important statement is becoming to have more and more impact on the reunification of the motherland. For many times, he also met and had cordial conversations with compatriots from Hong Kong and Macao and Overseas Chinese returning to visit relatives or see sights, encouraging them to contribute more to the national reunification and the country's construction.

In his speech at the 12th National Party Congress in September 1982, Ye stressed that a large number of young, energetic and capable comrades must be promoted to leading posts at the central and other levels in a bid to create a new situation in socialist modernization. He also stressed that the Central Committee must adhere to democratic centralism in exercising leadership. He was elected to the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau at the 1st Plenary Session of the 12th Central Committee.

On 25 February 1983 when the term of the Fifth National People's Congress was drawing to an end, Ye wrote a letter to NPC Standing Committee, requesting not being nominated and elected a deputy to the Sixth National People's Congress and thus not being nominated a candidate for the chairmanship of the NPC Standing Committee. In a reply to Ye Jianying's letter on 5 March, the NPC Standing Committee complied with his request while speaking highly of his monumental feats in the revolutionary struggles, fraught with hardships and difficulties, spanning more than half a century, and of his outstanding contributions to the cause of building socialism and to the realization of the great cause of national reunification. In June, Ye Jianying was appointed vice-chairman of the Central Military Commission of the People's Republic of China at the first session of the Sixth National People's Congress. In October, he took part and presided over the 2nd Plenary Session of the party's 12th Central Committee. In the same year, "selected poems of Ye Jianying" was published. In his later years, he went tima and again to various parts of the country for inspection together with Wang Zhen and other comrades-in-arms, showing concern and support to those who were working at these places.

In September 1985, Ye and other 63 senior comrades wrote a letter to the 4th Plenary Session of the party's 12th Central Committee, requesting not to be nominated candidates for membership of the Central Committee, so that a number of younger comrades with professional competence and moral integrity could enter the Central Committee and thus to realize the transition from the old to the young in the leading organs of the party. The session complied with his request, and wrote a letter of respect to him which spoke highly of his splendid career. The letter said: "we deeply believe that the whole party, army and people of the whole country will remember forever your important and historical contribution to the party and the country. Your devotion to the cause of realizing communism in China, your extraordinary revolutionary courage and resourcefulness as manifested in the crucial moments of the complicated revolutionary struggles, your noble qualities such as eager to learn and deep thinking,

hard-working, giving consideration to the overall situation and solidarity have set a fine example for us to follow forever."

Comrade Ye Jianying will live forever in the hearts of the Chinese people of all nationalities.

Memorial Service

OW300831 Beijing XINHUA in English 0717 GMT 30 Oct 86

[Text] Beijing, 30 October (XINHUA)--Every newspaper in Beijing today devoted its entire front page to the death of Marshal Ye Jianying, who died 22 October at the age of 90.

The papers carried news and photographs of the memorial ceremony held here yesterday. China's top leaders paid their last respects to the marshal at the Great Hall of the People. A eulogy was delivered by Hu Yaobang, general secretary of the communist party Central Committee who outlined the career of Marshal Ye.

The newspapers also carried reports on the memorial activities held in Marshal Ye's some county of Meixian and in Guangzhou where the marshal spend must of his youth. Services were also held in Hong Kong and Macao, and messages of condolence sent by state leaders of a number of countries.

Ye who became marshal in 1955 had dedicated his life to the liberation of the Chinese people and the socialist cause.

In his eulogy to Marshal Ye, Hu Yaobang described Ye as a great proletarian revolutionary, statesman, military strategist and one of the founders of the Chinese people's liberation army.

In his youth, Ye followed Dr Sun Yat-sen and dedicated himself to China's democratic revolution. He joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1927 when Chiang Kai-Shek and Wang Jingwei betrayed the revolution and large numbers of communists were massacred.

Ye served as chief of staff of the Eighth Route Army and the Military Commission of the Central Committee from 1936 through the war of resistance against Japan (1937-1945). During this time he made important contributions not only to the establishment and development of the anti-Japanese National United Front but also helped lead the communists to victory.

During the war of liberation which began in 1946, Ye Jianying assisted the central leaders in conducting the nationwide people's liberation war. He made important contributions to the peaceful liberation of Beiping and commanded the campaigns to liberate Guangzhou and Hainan Island when the liberation army marched southward.

During the decade-long turmoil known as the "cultural revolution" which started in 1966, Ye Jianying waged indomitable struggles against the dogma and politics which dominated the ideological struggle. Without regard for his personal safety Marshal Ye made great efforts to resist and correct the mistakes of the "cultural revolution." He was elected vice-chairman of the party Central Committee in August 1973.

In 1976, the marshal and others on the Political Bureau took resolute measures to smash the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique and thus rescued the party from the danger.

Since 1978, Hu said, Ye Jianying made outstanding contributions in introducing reforms, opening China to the outside world, in improving democracy and the legal system and in promoting the peaceful reunification of the motherland.

While serving as chiarman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee (1978 to 1983), Ye Jianying presided over a NPC Standing Committee meeting which issued a "message to compatriots in Taiwan" in January 1979. In September 1981, he issued another famous statement aimed at the peaceful reunification. "The impact of those documents has become more and more important," Hu added.

Xu Xiangqian Eulogy

OW312330 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0010 GMT 30 Oct 86

[Text] Beijing, 30 October (XINHUA)--Article: Distinguished Service, Brilliant Life--In Memory of Marshal Ye Jianying, by Xu Xiangqian.

Comrade Jianying has left us forever!

We have lost a longtime comrade and a longtime comrade-in-arms. This is a great loss to the whoel party, the whole country, and the PLA.

When Marshal Ye was seriously ill, I went to see him at his residence. Since he had just had an operation, he was not able to say anything. Like all other comrades, I wished him early recovery. When the bad news came that he had died, many things, past and present, came to mind, and I was greatly saddened!

The history of the Chinese people's great revolutionary struggle at many important junctures for over half a century is vivid testimony of Comrade Jinying's immortal service. His name is closely linked with the history of China's democratic revolution, the history of CPC-led armed struggle, the history of China's socialist revolution and construction, and the history of PLA development. His noble character and prestige will shine forever.

My first acquaintence with him took place at the Guangdong Whampoa Military Academy in 1924. Among the leading officials and cadets of that Kuomintang-operated [KMT-operated] academy, which was founded by Dr Sun Yat-sen with CPC support in Guangzhou's Whampoa Island to train army officers, many were CPC members and KMT leftists, and many of its teachers and staff members were well-known personages. In those days, Comrade Jianying was deputy director of the academy's faculty. Although he was not a CPC member, his thinking was very progressive, and he took active part in the revolutionary army, which was

mainly made up of Whampoa cadets, to pursue the national revolutionary cause. During the two Eastern Expeditions launched by the academy's teachers and cadets, he, Zhou Enlai, and others were comrades-in-arms. In February 1925, he and I took part of the Second Eastern Expedition. After we returned from the campaign, he wrote a poem, which reads, in part: "Even if revolutionary history and revolutionaries fall into oblivion some day, revolutionary party members are duty bound to shed their blood!"

Before the Northern Expedition started, both he and I left the academy. I learned later that after the Northern Expeditionary Army captured Nanchang, he served as commander of the new Second Division of the National Revolutionary Army [NRA]. Later, he served as the chief of staff of the Fourth NRA Army. Comrade Jianying decisively joined the CPC in February 1928, despite the reign of white terror in those days. What he went through in those days was specifically what many other distinguished revolutionaries had through before him, namely from being democrats to being communists. Henceforth, he dedicated his whole life to the struggle of the communist cause.

My second encounter with Comrade Jianying took place in Guangzhou in December 1927 when the mighty revolution failed and brightness was driven out by darkness. To save the revolution and wage an armed struggle against the KMT reactionaries, Chinese communists initiated the Nanchang Uprising, the Autumn Harvest Uprising, and the Guangzhou Uprising. After playing a significant part in launching the Nanchang Uprising, Comrade Jianying worked with Zhang Tailei and other comrades and initiated the Guangzhou Uprising. Prior to the Guangzhou Uprising, I, at the order of the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee, sneaked into Guangzhou from Shanghai to clandestinely train the workers Red Guards in preparation for an armed uprising. Although there were more than 3,000 workers Red Guards in Guangzhou in those days, they lacked training, weapons, and actual combat experience. Just when the insurgents were badly in need of a regular armed force, the Fourth NRA Army Training Group headed by Comrade Jianying moved into Guangzhou from Wuhan via Jiujiang and Nanchang. After their arrival in Guangzhou, members of the group, who had earned the name of "new born babies" because they were totally disarmed by Zhang Fakui on the way, were again rearmed after several setbacks owing to Comrade Jianying's active struggle and planning. During the "cultural revolution," Comrade Jianying and I both sought "refuge" in Beijing's Xi Shan. When we talked about the post-uprising chaos, we could not help saying that we were not notified of the retreat. Marshal Ye said: I was not notified either. I did not know the change until I went to the headquarters at night and found no one there; and all I could do was to turn around and flee. When we recalled the life in those days and watched the chaos during the "cultural revolution," all sorts of feelings welled up in our minds and we could not help sighing with a heavy heart!

Well versed in both military and political affairs, Marshal Ye spent most of his time in the protracted revolutionary struggle at the General Staff Headquarters of the CPC Central Committee's Military Commission, and was a right-hand man for Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, and other leading comrades. In the combat to break the Kuomintang's siege of the central revolutionary base, on the road of the Long March, at the foot of Baota Sha in Yanan, and at the Supreme Command at Xibaipo, Comrade Jianying, with his distinct ability as a military strategist, assisted Mao Zedong and other comrades in successive major campaigns. He contributed his painstaking effort and wisdom to many of our

army's major campaign strategies, including the three campaigns at Liao-Shen, Huai-Hai, and Ping-Jin which were decisive in the ultimate doom of the Chiang Dynasty. Daring to struggle and knowing how to do so, Comrade Jianying demonstrated his farsightedness and wit as a strategist and statesman in his numerous rounds of negotiations with the Kuomintang's Chiang Kai-shek. He made distinctive contributions to building our army militarily, politically, and logistically and to developing the military theory. Some of our veteran comrades cordially called him the "advisor."

At many crucial junctures of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Jianying always bravely stepped forward as a heroic fighter. In the complicated inner-party struggles, he staunchly safeguarded the unity of the party and the army and resolutely carried out the party's correct line. He set a good example of selflessness and dauntlessness in the struggled against Wang Ming's left-leaning line, Zhang Guotao's splittism, and the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique. In the catastrophic years of the "Great Cultural Revolution," he was framed as a leading member of the "February Countercurrent." At a meeting of the Military Commission in January 1976, he joined a few veteran comrades in fighting against the conspiracy of Lin Biao and tne "gang of four" to disrput the army. In direct confrontation with Kang Sheng, Chen Boda, and their ilk at a meeting of the Political Bureau at Huairentang in Zhongnanhai on 14 February, Comrade Jianying stood up in wrath and sternly questioned Kang Sheng and the other: Isn't is enough that you have disrupted the party and the government and created chaos in factories and rural areas? Why must you disrupt the army, too, and what are you after? He also questioned Chen Boda: What are the principles of the Paris commune? He asked them: Seizing power in Shanghai and making it the Shanghai Commune is a major issue involving state structure. Why did you change the name of Shanghai without discussion with, and the approval of, the Political Bureau? The righteous speeches by Jianying and a few veteran comrades were later called by Jiang Qing and her ilk "trouble-making at Huairentang." After that, he, like us, was wrongly criticized. In spite of difficult circumstances, he still showed concern for the stability in the army and for other comrades under criticism. Once, when he heard that the "rebels" were going to ransack my house, he issued an order protecting my safety, while informing me by phone and making arrangements for me to move to Xishan. His sincere spirit of sharing weal and woe will always be remembered. On the eve of the "1 August" Army Founding Day in 1976, due to trouble-making by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," it became questionable whether Comrade Zhu De and a few veteran comrades, including myself, could attend the reception marking the 40th Army Founding Anniversary. Before a final decision was made on this question, Comrade Jianying personally visited me at my residence, bringing along a barber. He wanted me to get a haircut to get ready for the reception. He had a clearcut view in mind: Attendance by the veteran comrades of the Military Commission at the reception is not a personal matter. It concerns the stability and unity of the army as well as domestic and international effects. It is also a struggle against the "gang of four." When a telephone call informed us of Comrade Mao Zedong's approval for us to attend the reception, Comrade Jianying just couldn't conceal his delight.

During nationwide criticism of the "February Countercurrent," which was orchestrated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the veteran comrades of the Military Commission could heardly see each other. Near the end of 1969, Comrade Mao Zedong instructed several comrades of the Central Committee and the Military Commission to set up an international situation study group and meet once a

month in Zhongnanhai. I was working at a factory to "undergo reeducation" at that time, but was able to see Comrade Jianying because of the monthly meeting. In the discussion he always optimistically talked about the international situation. After repeated deliberations, the meeting's participants unanimously recommended Marshal Ye take charge of writing a report "Treasure Tree in the Forests of the World" to the party Central Committee. The report, which penetratingly analyzed the international situation and put forward a number of important questions concerning international strategy and defense building, won praise from Mao Zedong and other comrades. With a proletarian revolutionary's boldness of vision, Marshal Ye played a decisive role in crushing the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique.

Jianying was a veteran marshal earning our profound esteem. His dedication to the cause of communism, principled spirit, consideration for the overall situation, keen attention to unity, modest manner, and diligence at study will forever be good examples and the invaluable spiritual wealth of the party and the people.

Eternal glory to Comrade Jianying!

Xi Zhongxun Eulogy

OW31121 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0848 GMT 30 Oct 86

[Text] Beijing, 30 October (XINHUA)--Mourning With Profound Grief the Death of the Beloved and Respected Marshal Ye by Xi Zhongxun.

Our beloved and respected Comrade Ye Jianying has left us forever. I am filled with deep sorrow at the loss of a teacher who had a high and upright character and tireless zeal.

Comrade Ye Jianying had a brilliant fighting career. Like a silk-spinning silkworm or a burning candle, he gave his all for the party's and people's causes till his heart stopped beating. His immortal feats will go down in the annals of history.

We can never forget that since the day he threw himself into the revolution, Comrade Ye Jianying placed the interests of the party and the people first. He always took the situation as a whole into consideration, observed discipline, and courageously and resolutely proceeded without hesitation for the sake of justice, even at the risk of his life. In particular, his decisive role in crushing Zhang Guotao's attempt to undermine the party Central Committee during the Red Army's Long March and in smashing the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique during the "Great Cultural Revolution" will always remain on the party's record of merits. Comrade Ye Jianying's poems contain the following line: "A person's life, like a bamboo, is valuable only if it can pass the test of difficult times." This verse portrayed his lofty spirit, courage, and wisdom in standing up for the interests of the party and the people in numerous critical historical moments.

I first met with Comrade Ye Jianying in Yenan. I was extremely impressed by his broad military knowledge and extraordinary organizational and command skills. I had always admired his foresight and judicious judgment in the political field, his diligent and strict workstyle, his modesty and kindness toward people, and his frugal and simple lifestyle. However, it was after the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique that I had more contact with him and had the opportunity to personally experience and observe his lofty spirit and noble character.

In Comrade Ye Jianying I saw a broad-minded, daring spirit. He placed the interests of the party and state ahead of other considerations. When making important decisions, he always took into consideration the state's long-term security and the party's growth. After crushing the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, he was the first to suggest that those who followed Lin Biao's and Jiang Qing's counterrevolutionary cliques and committed atrocities should be removed from the leading bodies to let the Marxists take over leadership. He wholeheartedly hoped that the people of all nationalities in the country and the whole party and the army would try to make up for the time lost in the 10-year turmoil. Upholding our party's ideological line of seeking truth from facts, he was determined to reverse major unjust verdicts and misjudged and framed-up cases, to recommend the wise and able, and to rehabilitate a large number of long-tested cadres and ask them to take up offices. For the future of the party and the state, he suggested on several occasions at Political Bureau meetings Comrade Deng Xiaoping be asked to take up office as soon as possible. He presented his case on just grounds and worked unceasingly for the acceptance of his proposal. He stressed again and again: "Comrade Xiaoping has great talents and abilities to administer the country and ensure its security. He fully deserves to serve as the party's 'mastermind' and the army's commander-in-chief." Thanks to the joint efforts of Comrade Ye Jianying and other comrades in the Political Bureau, the great event materialized, an event that was in accordance with the wishes of the party, the army, and people and of decisive meaning in steering our country's history back onto the right track.

Framed by Kang Sheng and persecuted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," I was out of work for 16 years. After Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yun, Wang Zhen, and other veteran comrades took office, my misjudged case was redressed, thanks to the concern of the CPC Central Committee and Comrade Ye Jianying. In February 1978, I returned to Beijing to attend the CPPCC National Committee meeting at special invitation. At that time Comrade Ye Jianying was already advanced in years and was working very hard day and night; but still he took time to receive me. He was very happy to see I was in good health. Holding my hands tightly, he encouraged me to look forward and contribute to the party. His broad vision and noble bearing and his kindness, modesty, sincerity, and deep affection toward his comrades touched me so profoundly that I was in tears. What else can make a communist party member happy and proud of himself besides working for the party? In early April, the CPC Central Committee decided to send me to Guangdong Province to work.

Guangdong is Comrade Ye Jianying's hometown, a place where he long engaged in revolutionary activities. It was there during the great revolutionary period that he began his military career. Braving the enemy's fire, he fought against traitors and led uprisings. On the eve of Guangdong's liberation, he was sent to Guangdong by the party Central Committee to assume the heavy responsibility of the chief of the party, government, and military in the South China region. Summing up Guangdong's practical situation and historical traits, and resolutely implementing the party Central Committee's principles and policies, he proposed a series of far-sighted policies and measures which played a decisive role in the early liberation of South China, the political stability in the newly liberated area, the overcoming of various difficulties, and the resumption of production as well as setting in motion of various tasks. I had not been working for some 10 years before I came to Guangdong. Therefore, finding myself suddenly placed in an important position, and having to work in a relatively complex place, I had some difficulties coping with my work. Shortly after my arrival in Guangdong, Comrade Ye Jianying came for an inspection. Upon hearing my report on the initial work plan for Guangdong, he left me with the following words and asked me to take note of them during work: Make in depth study and investigation; draft plans carefully; report developments to the party Central Committee in time; execute and implement plans methodically; do things in order of importance and urgency; and maintain secrecy and pay attention to security. In Guangdong as well as up to now I have always held Comrade Ye Jianging's advice as my motto.

During my 3 year's stay in Guangdong, comrades at the provincial Party Committee and I kept up the struggle of exposing and criticizing the Lin Biao-Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary group and resolutely dealt with various factional chieftains. Especially since the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we have abided by the party's principle of seeking truth from facts, eliminating "left" influence, setting things to right, reversing mistrial cases, and implementing various party policies. As for some historical problems, the provincial Party Committee conducted fersh investigation, also in a truth-seeking spirit, reported the investigation timely to the party Central Committee and the CPC Discipline Inspection Commission and dealt with the problems properly. In the summer of 1978, Comrade Ye Jianying asked Comrade Hu Yaobang to convey his opinions to the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee. He fully affirmed the work of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee which gave tremendous thrust to our efforts in creating a new phase in Guangdong work.

Comrade Ye Jianying showed great interest and gave full support to the special policies and flexible measures adopted and carried out in Guangdong and Fujian. This fully showed his farsightedness and thoughtfulness in observation. When inspecting Guangdong in June 1979, he called on Guangdong to march one step ahead of the others and to do a good job in experiments according to the spirit of speical policies and flexible measures approved by the party Central Committee for Guangdong and Fujian. In a meeting with party secretaries of prefectures, cities, and counties from Guangdong, he said: If the Guangdong experiment fares well, it will set other areas in motion. If the experiment fails, the whole nation will be in disarray. Therefore, it is very important for us to exert every effort and make a good start.

On 15 July, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council formally issued a circula approving and transmitting two reports submitted by the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee and the Fujian Provincial Party Committee on practicing special policies and flexible measures with regard to foreign economic activities. Thanks to efforts by party committees at all levels and the people of Guangdong, work in Guangdong has progressed greatly and the central policies have been transformed into a great material force ever since then. Practice has shown that practicing special policies and flexible measures as well as setting up special economic zones in Guangdong and Fujian were not only beneficial to the acceleration of economic development in both provinces, they were also instrumental in promoting the country's economic structural reform. Now, the policy of opening to the outside world and invigoration of the domestic economy has become our country's firm national policy.

Comrade Ye Jianying attached importance to the correct handling of relationships between local and nonlocal cadres and to the problem of training local cadres. He always placed great confidence in and gave support to comrades who came to work in Guangdong from other areas. He encouraged nonlocal cadres to adapt to local life and customs and work hand in hand with local cadres and the masses. He once told a story about Qinshihuang who sent Zhao Tuo, an official or Hebei origin, to work in Guangdong. Zhao Tuo stayed a long time in Guangdong and had accomplished many good deeds there. He urged nonlocal cadres to emulate Zhao Tuo and settle down in Guangdong. He said: Comrades from other provinces have done quite a lot of work and contributed much in Guangdong. People in Guangdong will praise you and will not forget you. At the same time, Comrade Ye Jianying also stressed the training of, and attached importance to, the service of local cadres. In June 1979 the provincial Party Committee called a meeting of party secretaries of prefectures, cities, and counties. When receiving participants, he asked county party secretaries of Guangdong origin to raise their hands. He was pleased and thought it a good phenomenon to see a majority of them were of Guangdong origin. He called on me and Comrade Yang Shangkun to continuously pay attention to training local cadres. He said: This is not regionalism, the party's cause calls for it. He always urged local and nonlocal cadres to respect each other, unite, learn from each other, and with a single mind to do better work. He proposed on several occasions that nonlocal cadres learn to speak the local dialect so as to better communicate with the masses. He humorously said: Speaking different languages is like ducks quacking at each other. Nobody makes anything of quacking. At the same time, he hoped that local cadres would learn to speak and spread the use of Putonghua.

Comrade Ye Jianying had always kept in close contact with the masses. Even during his latter years he came to Guangdong every year to give guidelines for local work. Despite his old age and poor health, he usually braved the summer heat to inspect local factories, rural areas, schools, and troops. He also inspected development in the Shenzhen and Zhugai Special Economic Zones, and in Hainan Island. He was concerned about petroleum exploration in the South China Sea, Guangdong's nonferrous metal industry, and its communication, energy, and overseas Chinese work. Guangdong Province is made up, roughly of 70 percent mountainous areas, 10 percent water areas, and 20 percent rice fields. These vast mountainous areas are the province's major resources. Comrade Ye Jianying had called for developing these mountainous areas, and stressed that "afforestation must be properly carried out in developing mountainous areas

because afforested mountains are water sources. Mountains must be accompanied by water because, without water, mountains will not be a resource." The most fundamental task in the socialist stage is to develop productive forces, and that is why Comrade Ye Jianying, wherever he went, alwyas said: I hope you will make continuous progress in developing your production work. I hope the people's livelihood will improve year after year, and their educational level and scientific knowledge will be raised following the development of production work. Comrade Ye kept close contacts with the people, and he always kept in mind the masses' vital interests. When he saw that many peasants still used firewood for cooking, he thought it a terrible waste. He urged rural cadres at various levels to vigorously develop methane-generating pits and small hydroelectric power stations in order to solve the energy problem in rural areas. During one of his trips to Meixian County, he was told that the building of local Huangtang Hospital was rather shabby and the hospital's facility was simple and crude. When he came back to Guangzhou, he asked the comrades of the local Public Health Department to find some old medical equipment in major hospitals in Beijing and ship them to Huangtang Hospital. At the same time, he asked these comrades to send some medical personnel to study at major hospitals in Beijing and them impart what they learned to other workers of Huangtang Hospital so that the hospital's service could be improved gradually. Comrade Ye had deep affection toward veteran revolutionaries. During his many inspection tours, he received and extended his regards to many family members of martyrs, and comforted them with concern and warmth from the party. He constantly kept in mind the great cause of the motherland's reunification and always reminded us to good united front work. He had personally met many personages from Hong Kong and Macao, as well as returned overseas Chinese and Chinese of foreign nationalities. Wherever he went, Comrade Ye Jianying was warmly welcomed by workers, peasants, students, dependents of overseas Chinese, and PLA commanders and fighters.

Comrade Ye Jianying was a modest, prudent, and accessible person. All comrades were willing to approach him and regarded meeting and talking with him as a pleasant thing. Cadres in Guangdong Province usually cordially addressed Comrade Ye as old marshal. Everyone respected and loved him very much, and hoped that he would remain healthy and live long.

After I was transferred from Guangdong to the party Central Committee, I had had more opportunties to maintain direct contacts with, and to learn from Comrade Ye Jianying. I was deeply impressed by his unyielding and undaunted revolutionary spirit in fighting for the party and people; his lofty personality evidenced by his persistence in giving top consideration to the overall situation, in abiding by discipline, in promoting unity among comrades, and in helping younger generations; and his sincere wish for the motherland's reunification and the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. Comrade Ye proved himself to be a great proletarian revolutionary, statesman, and strategist.

Comrade Ye Jianying's historical feats and lofty spirit will be forever revered by those living after him. We should carry forward his unfinished work and strive to fulfill his unfulfilled wishes. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee, we should work hard for the four modernizations and the motherland's reunification.

Nie Hongzhen Mourning Article

OW021101 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0127 GMT 31 Oct 86

[Text] Beijing, 31 October (XINHUA)--Article: "Lu Duan Is Clear-Headed in Matters of Principle"--in memory of Jianying, by Nie Rongzhen

We just bade farewell to Bocheng and now Jianying also passed away. Hearing this sad news one after another, I couldn't help crying. While the nation was celebrating the 50th anniversary of the victory of the Long March, within 2 weeks the Chinese people lost two outstanding heroes of the Long March and I lost two close comrades-in-arms. I am greatly distressed.

Comrade Jianying on many occasions made unique and glorious contributions to the history of the Chinese revolution. Comrade Mao Zedong once praised him as an outstanding person who, like Lu Duan, was clear-headed in matters of principle. He fully deserved this compliment. (Footnote 1) (Lu Duan (935-1000 A.D.) was a high-ranking official of the Northern Song Dynasty who later became prime minister. When Emperor Taizong died, court attendant Wang Jien conspired to get rid of the crown prince in order to put another person on the throne. Having discuvered this plot in time, Lu Duan supported Crown Prince Zhenzong's ascension to the throne. Wang Jien was demoted and banished. History has praised Lu Duan as a man who did not blunder in the face of a major crisis.)

Jianying graduated from the Yunnan Army School and followed Dr Sun Yat-sen by taking part in the democratic revolution in his early years. In June 1922 Chen Jiongming turned traitor and besieged the presidential residence in an attempt to harm Dr Sun Yat-sen. At that time, Jianying was a battalion leader under Chen Jionming. However, he resolutely led the troops under his command and boarded the warship "Baobi" to fight the rebel army. This story shows that Jianying was an ardent young man who was ready to take up the cudgel for a just cause.

During the Northern Expedition, Jianying was the commander of a division which marched into Jiangxi as part of the Right Route Northern Expeditionary Army under the command of Chiang Kai-shek. He was not a communist party member at that time. Indignant about Chiang Kai-shek's wanton slaughter of workers in Nanchang, he abandoned his post, left for Wuhan, and made an open anti-Chiang statement there. Chiang Kai-shek, who had a high regard for Jianying, did first not believe his defection. Only after Jianying published another telegram

following the "12 April" counterrevolutionary coup, did Chiang Kai-shek suddenly realize what had happened. This shows that Jianying had a clear head on major issues of principle.

Prior to the Nanchang Uprising, Wang Jingwei and others conspired to have comrades Ye Ting and He Long arrested at a meeting. Upon hearing this news in Lushan, Jianying immediately informed Ye and He, thus preventing them from falling victim to the plot and ensuring the success of the Nanchang Uprising, an event which shook the country and the whole world. After the Nanchang Uprising, Jianying persuaded Zhang Fakui to form a training group composed of students who rushed to Nanchang to take part in the uprising. As a result, a number of communits party members were protected. Under Jianying's leadership, the training group later became the main force of the insurgent army.

Following the abortive Guangzhou Uprising, Jianying and I went to Hong Kong. Jianying had joined the party before the Nanchang Uprising. However, he was unable to show any evidence of membership because his membership credentials were with the training group, which at that time was fighting successively in various parts of Dong Jiang. Comrade Yun Daiying and I went to see Jianying, asked him about the circumstances, and, with the approval of the Guangdong Provincial Party Committee, reestablished his party credentials. Later I frequently met with Jianying and our comradely affection for each other grew deeper. Hearing Jianying speak about the above-mentioned experience, I deeply felt that he had a firm revolutionary will and was deeply conscious of the righteousness of a cause. His spirit of daring to struggle for the truth evoked in me a feeling of profound respect.

While we were in Hong Kong, Jianying bought a book on the unofficial story of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom and recommended it to me. We discussed the bitter lesson of the failure of the Taiping Revolution and reviewed the experience and lesson of the success and failure of the Nanchang and Guangzhou Uprisings. We were so absorbed in these discussions that occasionally we forgot food and sleep. From my association in Hong Kong with him, I deeply felt that Jianying was an able, efficient, and gifted person. He was incisive in analyzing problems and was warm and honest to comrades. From then on we became bosom friends.

In 1930 Jianying returned home after studying in the Soviet Union. We met atain in Shanghai. Later we fought successfully in different parts of the Central Soviet Area and along the route of the Long March. The rigorous trials we went through together deepened our militant friendship.

In June 1935, the First and Fourth Front Armies of the Red Army joined forces in the Maogong Area in western Sichuan. In September, Zhang Guotao laid bare his ambition of splitting the party and the Red Army by betraying the Central Committee's decision to advance troops to the north. With the sinister intention of harming the Central Committee, Zhang Guotao cabled an order to Chen Changhao to advance the Right Route Army, including the First and Third Army Groups of the former First Front Army, to the south. At this critical juncture of the party and the revolution, Jianying got hold of the cable, immediately reported it to Comrade Mao Zedong, and made every effort to get a military map. The Central Committee immediately decided to send the First and Third Army Groups

to the north to keep them out of danger. As a result, Zhang Guotao's scheme to harm the Central Committee fell through. This saved the Red Army so that it would later achieve victory and fight against the Japanese aggressors. While we were in the Soviet concession area, Jianying gave me a detailed account of this breathtaking story. I heartily admired his alertness and his absolute devotion to the party Central Committee.

In a later stage of the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression, we celebrated together the victory of this war in the cave dwellings of Yanan and parted with each other to rush to different battlefields. In 1946, Jianying accompanied members of the Military Mediation Executive Headquarters to Zhangjiakou. He recounted to me the complicated struggle with the Kuomintang authorities in the effort to mediate hostilities.

After the PRC's founding, whenever we met, we always recalled the past, looked forward to the future, and deplored the passage of time.

During the "great Cultural Revolution," we shared misery and hardship. At the conference table, in encounters with the so-called "rebel factions," and in meetings, Jianying and I often denounced together the perverse acts of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." We almost met daily at his residence in Sixhan to analyze the situation of the "great cultural revolution" and poured out our hearts. Seeing the glorious traditions of the party being damaged, large numbers of fine comrades and innocent people being persecuted, and the state and the people undergoing turnoil, we both were distressed. We were also indignant at being falsely accused as members of the anti-party "February Countercurrent." I was hospitalized in November 1968. Jianying visited the hospital to see me but was "turned away." He told Ruihua (Footnote 2) (Wife of Marshal Ye) on the telephone: "You tell Marshal Ye this: I have faith in myself and in Marshal Nie. We both are not schemers. Please ask him to take good care of himself." The forceful voice of the old comrade-in-arms deeply touched me.

After the Lin Biao counterrevolutionary clique was exposed, the "gang of four" continued their conspiracy to usurp the party and power and stepped up their counterrevolutionary activities, especially after Comrades Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, and Mao Zedong became gravely ill and died in succession. In Xishan, Jianying on many occasions discussed with me efforts to salve the "gang of four" program at a critical juncture in the history of the party and the country in order to prevent the gradual disappearance of our revolutionary fruits achieved through bloodshed and sacrifice over several decades. However, in view of Jiang Qing's special position, we could only wait for an opportunity to take extraordinary measures. In late September 1976, I asked Comrade Yang Chengwu to convey to Jianying my concern and idea of taking preemptive action against the "gang of four." Sharing my feelings, Jianying said with a sense of humor; "A wily hare has three burrows, so I must find another hideout for myself. Please tell Marshal Nie to take care of his personal safety." Finally, on 6 October, our party smashed with one stroke the counterrevolutionary "gang of four." Jianying played a decisive role in this historic event and once again performed meritorious service for the Chinese people. I expressed my utmost admiration for Jianying's great wisdom and revolutionary courage.

Jianying had not been feeling well since 1980. Before I could pay a visit, he came to see me in spite of his ill health on 3 July 1983 when I was recuperating at Yuguanshan. Sitting in our wheelchairs, we shook hands with tears in our eyes. Due to his health, the doctor allowed us to talk for only a little more than 10 minutes. When we parted, I promised to visit him a few days later. On 7 July I called on him at his residence. How delightful it was to talk freely to a bosom friend! In the summer of 1984, when Jianying's condition turned critical, I rushed to the hospital. Seeing his sickly look from the glass window, I burst into tears of sorrow.

I called on him in 1985 after learning that his condition had slightly improved. He was drowsy. I woke him up by pulling one of his hands, but he could not speak. His hands and mouth quivered and his breathing quickened, showing his intense emotion. Deeply moved, I held his hands for a long time, reluctant to release them. I did not expect this to be my last meeting with Jianying!

In his lifetime, Comrade Jianying bravely stepped forward to defend the interests of the revolution by displaying the unsurpassed honor and resourcefulness of a proletarian revolutionary at every critical juncture of the revolution. How valuable was this spirit of his! How firm did he maintain his revolutionary stand and uphold his principle! "Lu Duan did not blunder in the face of a major crisis." Jianying was in fact a proletarian Lu Duan.

Beloved Comrade Jianying, the people of the whole country mourn you, and the whole party and army mourn you. We will carry out your behest, follow your footsteps, and fight firmly for the victory of socialism and communism. Comrade Jianying, may you rest in peace!

Remains Moved to Guangzhou

OW011901 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1214 GMT 31 Oct 86

[Text] Quangzhou, 31 October (XINHUA)--Great proletarian revolutionary, statesman, and strategist Comrade Ye Jianying's remains were flown from Beijing to Guangzhou for interment. His remains were escorted by Wang Zhen, vice chairman of the Advisory Commission of the CPC Central Committee; Wang Zhaoguo, member of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee; Comrade Ye Jianying's children and relatives; and members of the general office for handling the funeral, as well as those staff members who worked for Comrade Ye Jianying.

Seeing the remains off at the airport were Zhao Ziyang, Standing Committee member of the Political Bureau of the CPC Central Committee and premier of the State Council; Yang Shangkun, Political Bureau member of the CPC Central Committee and Standing Committee vice chairman of the Central Military Commission; Hu Qili, member of the Political Bureau and member of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee, and director of the PLA General Political Department; Li Peng, member of the Political Bureau and member of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee and vice premier of the State Council; Li Desheng, Standing Committee member of the Central Advisory Commission; Peng Chong and Rong Yiren, vice chairmen of the NPC Standing Committee; Hong Xuezhi, deputy secretary general of the Central Military Commission; Yang Zhengwu, vice chairman of the CPPCC National Committee; and others.

The flag was flown at half-mast today at the airport. The urn containing comrade Ye Jianying's remains was covered by a CPC Flag. The military band played funeral music when Comrade Ye Jianying's family members Ye Xuanping, Ye Xuanning, Ye Xuanlian, and others carried the urn and Comrade Ye Jianying's portrait into the airport with escort by the PLA guard of honor. Zhao Ziyang and other comrades as well as those party, government, and army leaders and comrades from all walks of life lining both sides of the ramp saluted Comrade Ye Jianying's remains.

About 1100 the special plane with Comrade Ye Jianying's remains landed at Baiyun Airport in Guangzhou. A military band played funeral music and those who came to meet the remains stood in silent tribute when Comrade Ye Jianying's remains were carried out from the plane under the escort of Comrades Wang Zhen and Wang Zhaoguo, as well as Comrade Ye Jianying's children. Later, those who came to meet the remains escorted the urn to the former site of the Institute for Instruction for the Peasants Movement in Guangzhou.

Meeting Comrade Ye Jianying's remains at Baiyun Airport and the former site of the Institute for Instruction for the Peasants Movement in Guangzhou, together with the people of all walks of life from Guangdong Province and Guangzhou City, were Vice Chairmen Mao Yisheng and Wang Enmao of the CPPCC National Committee, who happened to be in Guangzhou; and responsible persons of Guangdong Province, Guangzhou City, and Guangzhou PLA units; and members of the Central Advisory Commission Lin Ruo, You Taizhong, Zhang Zhongxian, Ren Zhongyi, Liu Tianfu, Li Jianzhen, and Xu Shijie.

Comrade Ye Jianying's remains will be temporily stored in the former site of the Institute for Instruction for the Peasants Movement in Guangzhou. After the completion of the cemetery, Comrade Ye's remains will be moved to the Honghuagang Mausoleum for martyrs of the Guangzhou Uprising for interment. A mourning hall was set up at the former site of the Institute for Instruction for the Peasants Movement in Guangzhou so that the people may offer their condolences.

/12232
CSO: 4005/176

BRIEFS

GRADUATE POLITICAL THEORY COURSES--To adapt to the need of reforming the teaching of political theory courses in institutions of higher learning and systematically train teachers for new courses, the State Education Commission recently approved the creation of a group of pilot graduate courses in political theory. All the pilot courses are included in the 1987 graduate recruitment plans of institutions of higher learning. Pilot courses to be offered include the following: "History of China's Revolution," offered by Beijing, China People's and Qinghua Universities, with a total recruitment of 45; "Principles of Marxism," offered by the China People's, Shanghai Communications, and Harbin Industrial Universities, with a total recruitment of 60; "China's Socialist Construction," offered by China People's University, with a recruitment of 20. The duration of the courses is 18 months, and the objectives of recruitment are young college and university theory teachers in active service, to be admitted after taking unified examinations. The subjects of entrance examinations will be published by the schools listed above at provincial and municipal graduate student recruitment offices. The pilot courses will organize the teaching and research work in line with the need of reforming the teaching of political theory in institutions of higher learning, explore the training of political theory teachers, and analyze new experiences in teaching reform. [Text] [Beijing ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO in Chinese 14 Oct 86 p 1] 6080

TIAN JIYUN, LI XIMING ATTEND CEREMONY--The second-phase project for building a park named "Utopia," from an episode in the famous Chinese classic "Dream of the Red Chamber," was completely built and the park was formally opened to the public on 1 October. Attending the opening ceremony of the new park, which was held on 30 September, were leading comrades including Tian Jiyun, vice premier of the State Council, Li Ximing, secretary of the municipal party committee, and Chen Xitong, secretary of the municipal party committee and mayor of the municipality. [Excerpts] [Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 1 Oct 86 p 1 SK] /6662

PAPER URGES GOVERNMENT EFFICIENCY--Beijing, 9 October (XINHUA)--The reform of China's leadership and management systems is "vital to the improvement of the efficiency of government offices," according to a commentary in today's ECONOMIC DAILY. This means simplifying administration and decentralizing powers, it said, noting: "The low efficiency of many offices has constituted a hindrance to the nationwide reform. The opening to the outside world and the expansion of a commodity economy." Only by decentralizing powers, it said, "shall we be able to reduce the administrative body and handle affairs efficiently." This also serves as a major part of the reform of China's political structure and is a fundamental method of combating bureaucracy and raising the efficiency of government offices. The commentary also called for the introduction of the responsibility system and performance assessment for all office workers at all levels. [Excerpts] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1201 GMT 9 Oct 86 OW] /12232

CSO: 4000/046

URBAN HOOLIGANISM, MEASURES OF CONTROL DISCUSSED

Shanghai FAXUE [JURISPRUDENCE] in Chinese No 7, Jul 86 pp 22-25

[Article by Xu Xuewei [1776 1331 0251]: "Urban Hooliganism and Measures of Control"]

[Excerpts] Fairly frequent in urban areas, hooliganism is a crime in wanton disregard of state laws and social mores, disrupting social order and endangering the tranquillity of citizens. It takes many forms, easily leading to other crimes. According to statistics, instances of urban hooliganism in recent years have remained not inconsiderable. Today, in Shanghai, hooliganism by itself or coupled with other offenses constitutes approximately 40-50 percent of all crimes. Thus, the study of the issue has a significance in effecting a long-range permanent cure as well as formulating short-term measures against the symptoms.

I. In 1984, hooliganism alone or coupled with other crimes investigated and prosecuted by the people's procuratorate of a certain district constituted 45.8 percent (all found guilty) of all prosecutions.

Table 1 Types of Crimes

类型 (1)	淫乱猥亵型 (2)	斗殴肆虐型 (3)	寻衅滋事型 (4)	犯数罪的 (5)	其中兼犯 (6)	
					强奸、引诱卖淫的 (7)	抢劫 (8)
占百分比 (9)	79.4%	12.7%	7.9%	27.5%	11.3%	4.5%

Key:
1. Type
2. Promiscuous Adultery and Indecency
3. Brawling and Vandalism
4. Provoking Quarrels and Creating Trouble
5. Multiple Crimes
6. Other Crimes in Combination
7. Rape and Seduction for Prostitution
8. Robbery
9. Percentage

Though the types are diverse, they can be basically classified into three categories: 1) promiscuous adultery and indecency, 2) brawling and vandalism and, 3) provoking quarrels and creating trouble.

Table 1 shows that, adultery and indecency constitute the main type of today's hooliganism, while proportions of the second and third categories are comparatively small. Meanwhile, the 1983 statistics of the said district were 53.2 percent for category 1; 38 percent for category 2; and 8.8 percent for category 3; We may thus see that category 2 dropped significantly and category 3 dropped somewhat, because most of these crimes are committed in the open and easily incur public wrath. Thus, under the deterrent of the legal system and drastic crackdown, they have basically been controlled. However, category 1 showed a significant increase. Thus the types of urban hooliganism are shifting and changing and have gradually formed the objective characteristic of adultery and indecency as the main patterns of crime commission.

Moreover, hooliganism coupled with other crimes constituted 27.5 percent, and sexual crimes of rape and seduction for prostitution made up 11.3 percent. It indicates that the proportions of other crimes induced by and linked with hooliganism are fairly high, and that their mutual relations and connections are strong and obvious.

Table 2 Structural Types of Criminals

类型 (1)	(2) 职业			(3) 年龄	
	(6) 工人	无业、个体户、学生等 (7)	教师、干部等 (8)	30～25岁 (9)	25岁以下的 (10)
占百分比 (15)	85.2%	12.7%	2.1%	30.2%	51.5%

类型 (1)	(4) 性别		(5) 前科劣迹	
	(11) 男	(12) 女	(13) 受过各种处理	(14) 无
占百分比 (15)	97.3%	2.7%	49.6%	50.4%

Key:

1. Type
2. Occupation
3. Age
4. Sex
5. Prior Record
6. Workers
7. Unemployed, Individual Entrepreneurs, Students
8. Teachers, Cadres
9. Age 25-30
10. Under Age 25
11. Male
12. Female
13. Yes
14. No
15. Percentage

The above statistics indicate that most hooligans are young male workers under age 30 (the youngest being age 17), constituting approximately 81.7 percent. More than 50 percent of them are young people under age 25, and the number of those with various prior offenses (including sentencing and public security punishment) is close to 50 percent. What makes us stop and think is that more than 80 percent of hooligans are actually young workers with regular employment and income. This phenomenon calls for our in-depth study. Meanwhile, it also indicates the necessity for the units in charge and public opinion in society to strengthen the education of young workers in social responsibility.

The fact that young male workers constitute the main body of offenders is another characteristic of today's urban hooliganism.

Table 3 Seasonal Comparisons of Crime Incidences

(1) 月份	(2) 8～10月份	(3) 11～2月份	(4)近年来不断作案的	(5) 备 注
(6) 占百分比	68.1%	17.9%	14%	近年来不断作案的均以恋爱为名。(9)
(7) 月平均数	40.3%	21.5%	(8) 以8～10月为主	

Key:

1. Month
2. Months of August-October
3. Months of November-February
4. Repeat Offenders in Recent Years
5. Remark
6. Percentage
7. Monthly Average
8. Mainly in Months of August-October
9. All repeaters in recent years operate under the pretext of love.

March to October (spring, summer and fall) is the period of high incidences of hooliganism. It is a general pattern repeatedly demonstrated by judicial practice. Most offenders commit crimes during this period, and the monthly average is double that of November-February. Furthermore, as shown by case data, the small proportion of repeat offenders in recent years is most active in the period of March to October. Mainly under the pretext of love and friendship, they seduce and rape young women.

The general pattern of the seasonal nature of hooliganism coincides with the characteristic of wanton disregard of society. These types of crimes usually occur in concealed areas and confined spaces. It can thus be said that most of today's crimes of hooliganism germinate in open places and are consummated afterward in sheltered spots. The scenes of crime are in the course of shifting and changing and the area is continuously expanding.

II. Promiscuous adultery and indecency are linked with sexual urge, mostly between opposite sexes. Adultery means unlawful sexual intercourse. Unlawful intercourse between man and woman is adultery. (Xiao Erya, Guangyi). The word promiscuous reflects the danger of adultery to society. Indecency includes all acts of sexual desire other than intercourse detrimental to social mores and manners.

Table 4 Incidences of Adultery and Indecency

类型 (1)	以恋爱为名奸淫的 (2)	在公共场所勾搭后淫乱的 (3)	两人以上集体淫乱的 (4)	侮辱猥亵 (5)	搞同性流氓活动的 (6)	犯数罪的 (7)	数罪中系强奸、引诱卖淫的 (8)
占百分比 (9)	21%	32%	35.1%	5.2%	0.4%	28%	9.7%

Key:

1. Type
2. Adultery in name of love
3. Adultery after seduction in public places
4. Group adultery involving more than two parties
5. Humiliation and indecency
6. Homosexual acts
7. Multiple crimes
8. Rape and seduction for prostitution among multiple crimes
9. Percentage

Among crimes of adultery and indecency, besides indecency and humiliation and homosexual acts, unlawful heterosexual relations, namely, adultery constitutes the overwhelming majority.

Unlawful heterosexual relations mainly include the following two types:

1. Usually the man initiates seduction in a public place, and thereafter adultery is committed.

According to case data, movie theaters, railway stations, musical teahouses, coffeehouses and shopping centers in busy commercial districts are the main sites for seduction. With the relative concentration of economic and cultural factors, the large crowds of idlers, and the mixture of things and information of all kinds, these places are the main spots for contact and association of individuals with society.

What deserves attention is that most of the men and women in these places are previously strangers to each other, and they part company fairly quickly after the act. We can thus see that the physiological factor is fairly obvious among the motives of their behavior. The incidence of such crimes of hooliganism is approximately one-third of all crimes of adultery and indecency.

2. Women are seduced under the pretext of love or friendship.

According to case data, crimes of this type last a fairly long time and, under cover of a "dignified" cloak, are highly deceptive. After reaching the goal, some male hooligans continue the affair for a time and, after dallying with their victims a few times, become bored and get rid of them. In cases of this type, the mental and physical damage to the women are more obvious than the previous type. In the name of friendship, Cheng seduced five young women, and four of them had abortions. He also humiliated an old woman. Due to the women's frivolous attitude toward sex, it is difficult for them to win society's general sympathy for their mishaps, thereby aggravating their tragedies, easily leading to a dangerous psychological trauma. Under this situation, some victimized women, have turned from victims to victimizers and others have killed themselves. There are also those who, after being seduced by hooligans, have written themselves off as hopeless and joined the hooligan gangs, eating, drinking and engaging in promiscuity, all the way to prostitution.

Correction of sexual misconduct as a rule is more difficult than other crimes, because it has a fairly strong internal motive (or internal drive) engendered in the physiological and psychological equilibriums. As shown in psychology, the condition is manifested more obviously in the female. Once the conduct becomes a habit, even if the offenders are rehabilitated in a given environment, the moment they encounter the temptation or lure of the opposite sex, they often backslide and revert to their old ways. In case of men, resistance to their act or excessive satisfaction often aggravates or varies their internal motive, leading to sexual crimes such as rape, seduction, or sheltering women for prostitution.

Among cases of unlawful sexual relations, one-third of them involve two or more persons of the same gender committing adultery with the opposite gender, or group sex. According to case data, most instances occur with targets seduced at public places.

Usually, men take the initiative to seduce unknown women, and they quickly come to an understanding, which develops into group sex, and part company afterward fairly promptly. Such shamelessness in sexual consciousness, the degree of attention shifting, and the insanity of sexual conduct form yet another characteristic of today's urban hooliganism.

6080
CSO: 4005/045

EAST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

MORE ZHEJIANG INTELLECTUALS JOIN PARTY

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Sep 86 p 1

[Excerpt] By and large the difficulties Zhejiang's intellectuals faced in gaining admission into the party have been removed. In the 2 and one-half years since 1984, over 36,000 outstanding intellectuals have been accepted into the party.

After the CPC Central Committee demanded that we pay attention to and resolve the difficulties outstanding intellectuals experienced in being admitted into the party, party organizations at all levels in the province went about getting rid of outdated leftist ideas and treated intellectuals as a genuine part of the working class. They took effective measures and offered training in strict accordance with party membership requirements. There was a unit in Fuyang County with 159 professional technical workers. For more than 20 years none of its staff members had been admitted into the party. Public demand was intense. In 1984, the Organization Department of the Hangzhou Municipal CPC Committee and its counterpart under the Fuyang County CPC Committee jointly visited the unit to investigate and help the party branch there review experience and overcome the prejudice against intellectuals and stepped up education and training for comrades demanding admission, thus creating favorable conditions for the admission of outstanding intellectuals. Over the past 2 years, 16 outstanding intellectuals from the unit have been allowed to join the party. Because of the importance that party organizations at all levels attach to this matter, the number of intellectuals in the party already topped 120,000 province-wide by the end of 1985, or 28 percent of the total number of intellectuals in Zhejiang.

12581
CSO: 4005/127

PARTY STYLE RECTIFICATION MUST STRESS PRACTICAL RESULTS

Hefei ANHUI RIBAO in Chinese 21 Sep 86 p 1

[Article by Bi Shushi [3968 5289 1395]: "Conference Discusses Party Style Rectification"]

[Text] The Anhui Provincial CPC Committee convened a meeting in the morning on 20 September for party committee secretaries from departments, bureaus, and offices directly under the province and from Hefei University. Deputy Secretary Wang Yuzhao [3769 6735 2507] of the Provincial CPC Committee presided over and addressed the meeting. Deputy Secretary Lu Rongjing [4151 2837 2529] conveyed the spirit of the seminar held recently by the Party Style Rectification Leading Group at the center and laid out plans for party style rectification work in organizations directly under the province.

The meeting began by reviewing party style rectification in the various agencies under the province since the beginning of the year and noted that after the mass meeting attended by 8,000 people from central party organs, the leading responsible comrades in all departments and units under the province have generally paid attention to party style rectification and solved many glaring problems. Much progress has been made in the investigation of serious cases and the punishment of offenders, and the reversal of unhealthy trends in the trades is off to a good start. On the whole, the party style is improving, with notable success in some areas. However, we must clearheadedly see that what agencies under the province have done to rectify the party style still falls far short of the demands of the CPC Central Committee. Some comrades do not fully appreciate the long-term nature of this task or its significance and lack a sense of urgency. Some do not properly understand the relations between party style rectification and reform or the strengthening of their own agency. They are impatient, fearful of difficulty, and have slackened up. A minority of units have neither done a solid job nor focused on the key issues. Confronted with a knotty problem, they cannot make up their minds and their work is less than effective. All this must be seriously addressed.

It was emphasized at the meeting that the key to party style rectification is a leadership committed to coming to grips with it. The positive and negative experiences of party style rectification in the past couple of years prove that whether the party style of a unit is good or bad depends on the level of

understanding of the party organizations, and that whether party style rectification is achieved or otherwise hinges on whether the leading cadres are up to their task and whether they can set a personal example and lead the way. Leading comrades in all units should increase their understanding of party style rectification as a long-term job and their sense of urgency. They should solve their confidence problem and produce tangible results to boost public confidence. Moreover, they should establish a sound responsibility system for party style rectification in all units and clarify the functions and demands of leading party groups, with each level leading the level below it. Provided we continue to work in this serious and responsible way, the rectification of party style will certainly make steady progress.

The conference went out of its way to urge leaders in all units directly under the province and the vast numbers of cadres to display the spirit of seeking truth from facts and tackle one thing at a time pragmatically. At present they should strive to make an impact in these three areas:

First, they must continue to concentrate on the investigation of major serious cases. Most of these cases involve a complex of far-reaching issues and often encounter resistance and interference. But as long as we conscientiously go after the facts and follow policies closely, we should have no trouble resolving the cases. The top responsible comrades in all bureaus and offices must personally handle one or two cases to make the crackdown a success.

Second, they must elevate the effort to reverse unhealthy trends in the trades to an even more prominent position. For starters, they must conduct careful research and, through analysis, get a clear understanding of the problems in the department or trade and correct them systematically in a planned way, particularly those which the public has been most critical of. Then they must use both positive and negative models to educate the people persuasively. They must tell the public, after they have determined all the facts, problems existing in certain trades which are pernicious in character and have extremely bad influences. At the same time, they must go out of their way to praise advanced groups and individuals who are honest, upright, incorruptible, and devoted to serving the people wholeheartedly as a means of setting a high standard of professional ethics and professional conduct. Even more important, they must increase their minimal understanding of the problems and make stringent demands. All departments and units should look at things in the overall context from the perspective of the masses. In considering any matter, their starting point should be the four modernizations, reform, and party style rectification. They should concern themselves with the public interest and social results. Whether or not they look at things from the overall public perspective determines their commitment to correcting unhealthy trends in the trades.

Third, we must continue to drive home the idea that leadership is service and, through party style rectification and changes in work style and agency functions, steadily strengthen the notion of serving the grassroots and the people, work hard to improve service attitudes and efficiency, overcome bureaucratism, and develop a good work style. Agencies directly under the province should influence the masses by setting an example and make fresh contributions to vitalizing Anhui's economy and enriching the people without delay.

12581
CSO: 4005/127

PARTY STYLE RECTIFICATION GAINS REPORTED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Sep 86 p 1

[Article by Tian Jinya [3944 6855 1246]: "Conference Discusses Party Style Rectification Work"]

[Text] A province-wide conference on party style rectification work was held in Fuzhou from 24 to 25 September.

The conference was presided over by Gao Hu, a member of the standing committee of the Fujian Provincial CCP Committee and secretary of the Discipline Inspection Commission. Deputy Secretary Jia Qinglin [6328 1987 2651] conveyed to the conference the spirit of the national seminar on party style rectification attended by responsible comrades from 11 provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly administered by the central government. He also put forward suggestions for implementing the spirit.

Comrade Jia Qinglin reviewed party style rectification work in the province over the past 8 months and affirmed that such work has clearly been effective. He said, "During the 8 months, the six unhealthy trends listed in central office documents have largely been checked. The investigation of major cases has made definite progress. The correction of unhealthy trends in the trades is gradually spreading to widening areas. Leading organizations are improving their style and going down to the grassroots to do practical things, resulting in many new phenomena. Because of education in party spirit and party discipline, a number of advanced units and individuals with a good party style have appeared. They represent the first steps toward the development of a good party style." Discussing problems in party style rectification work in the province, he emphasized that it is unbalanced, still falls short of what the CPC Central Committee demands, and has many flaws compared to advanced provinces and municipalities, the most prominent of which is that some leading cadres so far have not taken party style rectification seriously enough. Pleading a busy schedule, they have failed to put party style rectification on their agendas. Efforts to investigate major serious cases have been half-hearted and progress has been slow. While the six unhealthy trends have been largely checked, certain problems are not being dealt with as fast as they should. In some cases misdeeds go on even as rectification is under way. Accordingly we must persevere with party style rectification with no letup.

How can party style rectification work become more thoroughgoing in accordance with the principles of the CPC Central Committee? On behalf of the Provincial CPC Committee, Jia Qinglin put forward these concrete demands:

First, continuously raise leading cadres' ideological understanding, stressing these three aspects for the moment: 1) appreciate the long-term nature and importance of party style rectification. Firmly overcome the fear of difficulty and the tendency of some leading cadres to slacken up and "take one's time." Also watch out for the tendency in some units, unrealistically optimistic and "feeling good about themselves," to overestimate their party rectification work. 2) understand the relations between party style rectification and reform. As soon as they are confronted with a real problem, some comrades often consciously or otherwise assume that the two are mutually exclusive. Others point to their crowded agendas and give party style rectification less than full attention. 3) understand the conflicts inside the party between personal and special interests, on the one hand, and party and public interests, on the other. Some comrades do not appreciate these conflicts fully, have no clear-cut positions, and worry about going too far. As a result, investigations which should be carried out are not carried out, while problems which should be addressed are not addressed.

Second, continue to give top priority to the investigation of major cases, concentrating at present on the wrap-up of cases already under investigation. To do this job well, we must first overcome the political weakness of certain leading cadres. Once such weaknesses and laxity are overcome, we can devote ourselves to sorting out major cases and do a thorough and solid job.

Third, continue to correct unhealthy trends in the trades in a thorough manner. To give breadth and depth to our crackdown on these trends, take note of the following: 1) take care to ingegrate the local with the central. To begin with, zero in on leading organizations and leading cadres in the trades. Second, focus on the key units and key issues in the trades concerned. Third, emphasize and adhere to positive education and take a comprehensive approach. Fourth, pay attention to policies.

Fourth, improve the style of organizations, increase their efficiency, and eliminate bureaucratism. Firmly instill in all agencies at all levels the notion that "leadership is service." Do more practical things and strive for tangible results. Relate the improvement of organizational style to party discipline rectification. Investigate thoroughly and seriously deal with all major political economic losses resulting from excessive bureaucratism.

Fifth, bring about a healthy party life. Step up party ideological training, strengthen party organizational life, and politicize internal party life. A healthy party life is basic to improving party style. Leading cadres should take part in the party's organized living conferences as ordinary party members of their own volition and criticize and self-criticize in earnest. They should work hard to elevate the party life ideologically and politically, make it more principled, and upgrade party members' quality so that everybody regularly judges his conduct by party principles.

Finally, Jia Qinglin expressed the hope that all prefectural and municipal CPC committees and all party organizations in departments, bureaus, and offices under the province devote themselves to studying and implementing the spirit of the party's instructions and the plans of the Provincial CPC Committee in the light of realities, and effect a fundamental improvement in party style as soon as possible through the joint efforts of party organizations at all levels and all party members and cadres.

The conference was attended by more than 150 people, including responsible comrades from various prefectural and municipal CPC committees who are in charge of party style work and party organization secretaries from units under the province.

12581
CSO: 4005/125

SHANDONG VILLAGE LEVEL PARTY RECTIFICATION REPORTED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 7 Oct 86 p 1

[Article by Wu Maoquan [0702 5399 3123] and Wang Yitang [3769 3015 1016]: "Shandong To Launch Party Rectification at Village Level"]

[Excerpts] Comrade Yang Xingfu [2799 5281 1381], a member of the standing committee of the Shandong Provincial CPC Committee who is also in charge of the Party Rectification Office under the committee, issued a circular on 5 October about preparatory work for party rectification at the village level to leaders of press units under the province.

Comrade Yang Xingfu said that party rectification at the village level would be launched across the board soon. A mammoth task, it will cover a large area. Province-wide, there are 80,100 administrative village branches with over 1,829,000 party members. The latest round of party rectification, if successfully conducted, will have a profound significance for enhancing the fighting power of grassroots party organizations in the countryside, elevating the quality of the vast numbers of rural party members, and expediting the building of the two civilizations in rural areas. Consequently, party organizations at all levels, particularly CPC committees at the county (municipal), township and town levels, should make thorough preparations conscientiously. To begin with, they must understand clearly that party rectification must promote reform and the development of a commodity economy. This is a fundamental guiding principle that party rectification at the village level must adhere to from beginning to end. The relations between party rectification and economic work must be adjusted properly. In the course of party rectification, we must eliminate the notion of small-scale production and promote the commodity economy; this is an important part of the education of party members. We must stress three aspects in our work. First, county (municipal) CPC committee secretaries must involve themselves in party rectification personally and take effective measures to get on top of party rectification work. Under no circumstances should they delegate power to lower levels. Second, the training of party rectification inspectors, classroom speakers, and party rectification liaison workers must be properly carried out. Third, on the basis of investigations and research, we must draw up an action plan for party rectification at the village level.

12581
CSO: 4005/125

REFORMS IN PERSONNEL SYSTEM PAY OFF

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 1 Oct 86 p 1

[Article by Wen Bao [2429 1405] and Shou Tong [1108 2717]: "Reforms in Personnel System Have Borne Fruit"]

[Text] To adapt to the new situation resulting from the restructuring of the economic, scientific, technological, and educational systems, the provincial Personnel Bureau has been actively exploring new approaches to personnel reform, with a measure of success so far.

In recent years, the provincial Personnel Bureau firmly made reform its top priority and continuously overcame shortcomings in the existing personnel system. Early last year, it conducted a special study on the cadre selection system and, on the basis of that study, proposed that party and government organizations and institutions above the county level and managerial type of companies above the city level adopt an appointment system with regard to new cadres, that township and town cadres be selected and hired on a contract basis, and that enterprises recruit cadres from among their workers so as to develop employees ready to accept both high and low level jobs and capable of functioning as either workers or cadres. The appointment of the more than 18,000 township and town cadres in the province shows that the "simultaneous implementation of the three systems" in the area of cadre appointment has demonstrated its clear superiority in overcoming the weaknesses of the cadre system and upgrading cadre quality.

To make cadre allocation work a success, the provincial Personnel Bureau has decentralized cadre management powers. Today the power to examine and approve cadre allocation has been delegated to the counties. The unit to which a particular cadre is attached and the hiring unit are free to contact each other directly to discuss the transfer of a cadre and circulate personnel files. Personnel agencies above the county level may directly issue letters authorizing the transfer of a cadre with which he may report for work to the hiring unit. Cadre transfers within the urban areas of a city can be worked out by direct discussions between the hiring unit and the unit where the cadre originally belongs. The decentralization of the power of cadre allocation has to a certain extent ameliorated longstanding defects in cadre allocation--overregulation, elongated chains of command, overelaborate procedures, and low efficiency. Last year personnel departments at all levels in the province

allocated more than 24,000 cadres, including 15,000 technical professionals, to such sectors as light industry, textiles, agriculture, energy, and construction, and such regions as Xu, Huai, Yan, and Lian. They also worked out the problem affecting 5,700 intellectuals of being separated from their spouses. The allocation of the graduates of institutions of higher education used to be a closed operation. Guided by the national plan, the provincial Personnel Bureau has followed a "three-in-one" allocation method, bringing together the schools, hiring units, and graduates for direct contact between people who want jobs and those who offer jobs. In 1985, 19,249 graduates of graduate schools, colleges, and technical secondary schools were assigned jobs this way. To a greater extent than before, students are allocated jobs that match their expertise. According to a survey in Changzhou, of all the graduates of institutions of higher education, 98.8 perecent obtained assignments geared to their special training. In addition, personnel bureaus have conducted 210 6-month specialized training courses for 8,863 cadres transferred to the military before they assumed duty.

12581
CSO: 4005/127

CONFERENCE ON RURAL PARTY SCHOOLS HELD

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 6 Oct 86 p 4

[Article by Li Ruicheng [2621 3843 2052]: "Conference Discusses Ways to Improve Rural Party Schools"]

[Excerpts] The Propaganda Department of the Shandong Provincial CPC Committee convened a province-wide symposium in Feicheng County on the work of township and town (factory and mine) party schools in Feicheng County from 22 through 25 September.

Symposium participants said that party schools in townships and towns in the province have developed rapidly in recent years. Of the existing 2,504 townships and towns in Shandong, 2,102, or 83.9 percent, have set up a party school. These schools have turned out a large number of branch cadres and others who have proved instrumental in guiding the masses to develop commodity production. They have also trained a host of rural reserve cadres, effectively boosting the building of a socialist spiritual civilization at the grassroots level. Because they have been in existence for only a short time and lack experience, however, some problems still remain. For instance, some townships and towns still have no party schools even today. As for the schools that have been set up, some units fail to carry out their educational responsibilities so that normal teaching activities are not being implemented. There is also a shortage of systematic teaching materials, etc. We must conscientiously study these problems and solve them in our work in the future.

Guiding principles in running a rural party school were discussed. Participants argued that while the curricula of township and town party schools may be multifaceted, they must stress the party's ideological training. Teaching should uphold the principle of the "three stresses and three combinations." The "three stresses" mean that training should target primarily party members, that teaching curricula should emphasize basic party knowledge, the fundamentals of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought, and the party's lines, policies, and principles; and that the main purpose of teaching is to improve the party members' ideological and political quality. The "three combinations" means combining academic curricula with the central work of townships or towns, combining theory with party members' real problems, and combining political studies with technology, management, and culture.

12581
CSO: 4005/127

MENTAL ADAPTION TO OPEN-DOOR POLICY, REFORM URGED

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 13 Oct 86 p 8

[Article: "Fujian Party Secretary Advocates Sense of Competition in Carrying Out Reform"]

[Text] Fujian party secretary Chen Guangyi [7115 0342 3015] declared: Opening the door is a major reform. To take new steps in opening the door, we must first, with the spirit of reform, continuously renew our concepts. If we cannot change the old concepts, we will not be able to initiate a new phase in the open-door policy and reform.

At the recent forum on the open-door policy and reform in the South Fujian triangle, Chen Guangyi made a speech on the issue of "renewing concepts and strengthening the consciousness of the open-door policy," and stressed the sense of the open door, of competition, of reality, and of democracy.

He listed the phenomena he encountered in an investigation: the people's fear of change and the cadres' fear of making mistakes; the inability to regard the "three capitals" (foreign capital, joint capital, and cooperative endeavor) as domestic enterprises; arbitrary apportionments, indiscriminate fees, and fearing that the other party makes a profit; conservative thinking, following old practices, and believing it "safe according to regulations" and "dangerous to be flexible;" lack of a commodity concept; departments guarding their own turfs, wrangling handling in affairs; and so forth.

He feels that, in addition to causes in ideology, work style and current systems, one important reason for the emergence of the problems is the lack of keenness in thinking and the slow renewal of concepts.

According to his analysis, the reason for the slow renewal of concepts includes two aspects: On the one hand, people are accustomed to traditional concepts, especially feudal matters; on the other hand, they are unable to accept the new things emerging with the times, and even confuse them with capitalism.

He declared: "After several thousand years of feudal society, the influence of traditional habits and feudal ideology is deep-rooted. We want to open our doors to the outside, while the feudal ideology wants to close the country to

international contact and blindly reject the foreign; we want to reform and innovate, while the feudal ideology wants to "follow the rules" and act by the books; we want to exploit and forge ahead, while the feudal ideology wants to remain conservative and mediocre; we advocate competition and letting a part of the people get rich first, while the feudal ideology seeks egalitarianism and the "big rice bowl."

He emphatically pointed out that the obstacles encountered in the course of implementing the open-door policy and reform and the attacks suffered by those enthusiastic in the open-door and reform are not unrelated to feudalism. Primarily we must establish the sense of the open door, including the concepts of commodity, market, efficiency, time, and so forth, and follow it with the sense of competition, sense of reality, and sense of democracy.

6080
CSO: 4005/136

BRIEFS

NEW SHANGHAI VICE MAYORS--Shanghai, 25 Oct (XINHUA)--Shanghai has two new vice mayors. Huang Ju, 48, and Qian Xuezhong, 53, were appointed to their new jobs in China's biggest industrial center today. The appointment was made at the 24th meeting of the Eighth Municipal People's Congress Standing Committee which opened today. The incumbent, Zhu Zongbao, was asked to quit his job as vice-mayor because of poor health. Huang Ju graduated from the electrical engineering department of Qinghua University in Beijing in 1963. He once served as secretary general and deputy secretary of the city's communist party committee. Qian Xuezhong graduated from the architectural department of Shanghai's Tongji University in 1955. He once held the posts of vice-chairman of the municipal construction commission and secretary general of the municipal government. In another appointment Zeng Qinghong, 46, was named deputy secretary of the minicipal party committee. Zeng graduated from the automatic control department of Beijing Engineering Institute in 1963. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1513 GMT 25 Oct 86 OW] /9274

CSO: 4000/045

REFORMS IN RURAL CADRE SELECTION DISCUSSED

Nanning GUANGXI RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 86 p 1

[Article by Chen Yicai [7115 1150 2624], Li Qingxiang [2621 1987 4382], and Li Huansang [2621 3562 2718]: "Reforms in Cadre Selection Have Energized the Rural Contingent"]

[Text] The Wuzhou region has been experimenting with a township and town cadre appointment system. Almost 300 cadres thus hired have been playing an active role in rural work and become a vital part of the contingent of township and town cadres.

In the second half of 1984, Wuzhou reformed its personnel system by implementing a township and town cadre appointment system on a trial basis. Examinations and examination questions were centralized, selection was based on merit, and contracts were signed with people selected. A total of 298 township and town cadres were thus chosen who signed 3-year contracts with hiring units. Under the contracts, cadres who do not prove equal to their job may be dismissed any time. The 3-year contracts may be renewed upon expiration. That way the "iron rice bowl" was broken and the initiative of the cadres was mobilized. Studies by personnel agencies in the Wuzhou region show that 96 percent of these cadres perform well or relatively well, 12 have assumed township and town Class 1 leadership positions, while 54 others have become secretaries or deputy secretaries of Communist Youth League CPC committees, or directors or deputy directors of the Women's Federation in the townships.

With its experimental township and town cadre appointment system, the Wuzhou region has intensified the development of its contingent of rural grassroots cadres. Previously the whole region was acutely short of over 160 specialized cadres in the league, the Women's Federation, the military, and family planning. After the experiment went under way, the vacancies were all filled by cadres drawn from among young people in the countryside. In recent years, more cadres have been transferred out of some mountainous counties than into them, affecting local development. Cadres appointed under the appointment system come from the villages and were locally born and bred. Since they are allocated local jobs, they can keep the fields they are responsible for. During their employment periods, they cannot be transferred as a rule, thus facilitating the stabilization of the cadre contingent in the mountain areas. Of these cadres, 96 percent are 35 or younger and 91 percent are of senior middle school standard, a change from the past when cadres were relatively old and poorly educated.

12581
CSO: 4005/122

HOSPITAL REFORMS PERSONNEL SYSTEM

Nanning GUANGXI RIBAO in Chinese 5 Sep 86 p 1

[Article by Lan Taiyang [5663 1132 7122] and Huang Yongsheng [7806 3057 0581]: "Personnel Reforms Make for a Better Hospital"]

[Text] Tianyang County People's Hospital has been reforming its personnel system boldly since last year, experimenting with a cadre appointment system and hiring new workers on a contract basis. The morale of both cadres and workers has shot up. Unlike the past, service attitudes throughout the hospital are good and everybody strives for excellence and sets great store by medical ethics. Last June, it was awarded the designation of "civilized hospital" by the Public Health Department of the autonomous regional government.

Since early April in 1985, the new leadership at Tianyang County People's Hospital has been reforming its personnel system boldly, adopting an appointment system with regard to cadres and a contract system with regard to new workers. Middle-level cadres are hired for a term of 3 years while other cadres and workers are hired on a yearly basis, all subject to dismissal at any time during their term if they do not prove equal to their task. In principle, the elderly, feeble, sick, and handicapped who have not reached retirement age will be hired. Workers with a poor service attitude and work discipline will not be employed for the time being, but will be hired whenever their performance improves. During the first quarter after they lost their jobs, they will continue to draw full salary, but will receive no bonuses. If their performance fails to improve during the second quarter, they will only be paid 70 percent of their wages. In the absence of improvement after the second quarter, they will be demoted or referred to the county Public Health Department. As it turned out, only five hospital employees were not offered employment and, in accordance with regulations, were paid only their wages without any bonuses. By the second quarter, all of them had improved their service attitudes and were hired.

After the appointment system went into effect, all cadres and workers did what was demanded of them and discharged their functions dutifully with a heightened sense of responsibility. A new medical ethics has appeared, along with a new style of providing medical services. The quality of medical services has markedly improved. The number of bed space-work days increased

more than 1,000 in the first half of this year compared to the same period last year. When they cannot finish their work during regular hours, hospital staff put in extra hours. Cadres from other parts of the country who used to feel restless now work contentedly. Many comrades strive for political progress: last year 4 comrades were admitted to the party, and 14 more are applying for party membership today. The hospital's economic and social results have significantly improved. In the first half of 1986, the diagnosis accuracy rate and patient recovery rate reached 99.1 and 84.2 percent, respectively, while mortality rate has now dropped to 0.5 percent, down from 1.3 percent in 1985. A high 84.2 percent of critically ill patients were successfully cured. The hospital's total income exceeded 498,000 yuan, up 18 percent over the corresponding period a year ago.

12581
CSO: 4005/122

BRIEFS

BANQUET SEATING BY RANK QUESTIONED--Guangzhou YANGCHENG WANBAO in Chinese on 30 September 1986 publishes on page 2 a commentary by Huang Qiuyun [7806 4428 5089], who urges that seating by rank at official banquets be deemphasized. The commentary holds that although the Western-style banquet, at which patrons can freely mix, has not yet been popularized in China, it is at least worth attempting to seat persons according to surname instead of official rank in order to enable lower-ranking individuals to be seated next to higher-ranking cadres or officials. Huang recalls his own experience at an official banquet given by the CPC Central Committee last year to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the December 9th Movement. Although of low rank, he was given the opportunity to sit next to Jiang Nanxiang [5592 0589 5046], deputy superindentent of the Central Party School, whose table was filled by students from Qinghua University, Beijing University and Beijing Normal University. Because he and the other low-ranking patrons benefitted by the arrangement, Huang urges promotion of this practice. [Editorial Report]

CSO: 4005/172

SHANXI LOCAL INITIATIVE IN POLITICAL REFORM REPORTED

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 5 Oct 86 p 5

[Article: "Shanxi Party Secretary Stresses Development of Local Initiative in Political Reform"]

[Text] Shanxi party secretary Li Ligong [2621 4539 0501] declared: One important part of political reform is the delegation of power to lower levels and the full development of the initiative of local governments.

He feels that starting from the system, delegating power to local governments, and fully developing local initiative should be a part of the political reform. He said: Today, whatever organs exist in the central government, local governments are required to duplicate them, resulting in overlapping organizations, mutual wrangling and low efficiency. An afforestation program, for instance, often involves several branches, e.g., agriculture, forestry and water conservation. In fact, the conditions of different provinces vary in thousands of ways. The scientific method is to permit the provinces to establish their own appropriate systems according to their own practical conditions.

He revealed that, when CPC General Secretary Hu Yaobang made a rural inspection trip to Shanxi last year, he proposed the metaphors of "sparrow fight" and "donkey rolling on the ground" in terms of developing village and town enterprises. "Sparrow fight" means flexibility and mobility, suiting measures to local conditions and exploiting the strong points and avoiding the weaknesses; "donkey rolling on the ground" means accumulating gradually and growing from small to big and from shallow to deep.

Shanxi's rural enterprises started 15 years later than Jiangsu, out the rate of growth in the past 2 years commands respect. In 1984 and 1985, a growth rate of around 50 percent was maintained 2 years in a row. The 1985 total output value rose to 8,577 million yuan, constituting 30.3 percent of the province's industrial output value.

To date, 80 percent of industrial enterprises and 60 percent of commercial enterprises throughout the province have introduced the plant director (manager) responsibility system, and most of them are in the course of implementing the plant director (manager) term goal responsibility system

[being responsible for achieving the goals set for the plant director's (manager's) term of office].

In initiating economic contacts, by the end of June, more than 6,300 enterprises in Shanxi formulated over 5,500 projects and introduced over 800 million yuan in funds, including over 600 million yuan from other provinces.

In terms of the strategy for economic development, Governor Wang Senhao [3769 2773 3185] declared: In view of its superior resources, Shanxi will be built into national bases of heavy industry, chemical industry and energy. The greatest restriction to its economic development is the serious shortage of water resources. If this problem is not solved, it will cause an inestimable loss to the economic development. Therefore, a "water resource committee" under the governor has been organized, and such projects as Yellow River diversion, water conservation, and dike building to store water have been formulated, but the final solution of the problem is extremely formidable.

6080
CSO: 4005/136

BRIEFS

CADRE EDUCATIONAL LEVEL REPORTED ON RISE--Harbin FENDOU [STRUGGLE] in Chinese reports on page 32 of the September 1986 issue that implementation of CPC policies regarding cadre modernization has resulted in a rise in Heilongjiang's cadre educational levels. According to incomplete statistics, the percentage of cadres who have university or vocational school education rose from 13.97 percent in 1982 to 18.13 percent in 1985. Furthermore, 50.2 percent of the leading positions in various provincial party, government and enterprise components are held by cadres who have university or vocational school education. [Editorial Report]

CSO: 4005/68

CHENGDU MR ADVANCED INDIVIDUALS, UNITS HONORED

[Editorial Report] Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese on 13 October 1986 carries on page 3 several brief articles describing outstanding units and individuals commended by the Chengdu Military Region. The following individuals were awarded gold medals:

Fu Ming [0265 6900], age 30, political instructor, Artillery Battalion, Unit 56030. He was political instructor in the 100mm Artillery Company from 1981 to 1985.

Ouyang Xiaofeng [2962 7122 2556 1496], age 24, company commander, 4th Company, Unit 56036. Upon graduating from the Chengdu Army School in 1982, he was sent to the unit where he acted as platoon leader and political instructor.

Yin Guoliang [1438 0948 0081], age 30, deputy commander, 14th Company, Unit 35547. In 8 years on the Yunnan frontline, he has led soldiers in combat over 40 times.

Jiang Fenglin [5592 7685 2651], age 36, political instructor of the engineering machine company directly subordinate to Unit 35255. He first came to the Yunnan frontline in 1979. Since 1982, he has been the political instructor for three backward units which he raised to advanced status.

Zhou Mingzhong [0719 2494 1813], age 30, commander, Camouflage Company, Unit 56277.

Chu Bajin [0328 0360 2443], age 37, commander, 3d Battalion, Unit 59229.

Li Ruqin [2621 1172 0187], age 30, commander, 4th Battalion, Unit 35210.

Aniumama [7093 3662 7802 3854], age 27, political instructor, 5th Company, Unit 35216. He entered service in 1978, became a company commander in 1983, and a political instructor last year. He twice participated in operations against the Vietnamese.

Lian Rubin [6647 1172 24[illegible]0], age 31, commander, 5th Company, Unit 56184. He entered service in 1975, graduated from the Chengdu Army School in 1981, and became a company commander on the Xizang border in 1983.

Liu Shizhong [0491 0013 1813], age 32, political instructor, 5th Company, Unit 56189. His unit has been on the Xizang Plateau for a long time.

Ma Shengrong [7456 0581 2837], age 30, commander, 4th Company, Unit 35176.

Zhao Chun'gao [6392 2504 7559], age 53, battalion commander, Unit 35011. For the last 36 years, he has been involved in constructing and maintaining communication lines in the 6,000km-long valleys of the Gaoligong Shan and Ailao Shan in southern Yunnan.

Wu Yongkui [0702 3057 1145], age 30, commander, 7th Company, Unit 35195. He began service in 1976 and entered the Xi'an Army School in 1978. His unit occupies seven positions and several dozen outposts, and in the last 3 months has repelled 23 enemy offensives and 181 harassing attacks.

The following grass-roots units received first class merit citations:

Signal Company, Unit 56040.

5th Company, Unit 35207. In 1984 this unit had main offensive missions in operations at Laoshan.

4th Company, Unit 35546. This unit was formed in 1979 and is located on the border of central Yunnan.

1st Camouflage Company, Unit 56277. Has worked on the Yunnan border since 1979.

14th Company, Unit 35310. Unit has had no mishaps for 39 years.

1st Company, 2d Battalion, Unit 56506. Stationed on Chaguclaxue Shan in the Himalaya at an altitude of over 5,300 meters.

CSO: 4005/ 178

LIEN HO PAO EDITORIAL ON LIFTING MARTIAL LAW

OW131145 Taipei LIEN HO PAO in Chinese 6 Oct 86 p 2

[Editorial: "Usher in a New Era"]

[Excerpts] Recently, after careful study and examination, a 12-member group of the ruling Kuomintang's Central Standing Committee decided in principle to replace the martial law with a "national security law" and to revise the "organization law governing people's organizations during extraordinary times" so as to allow the establishment of political organizations and legalize their participation in elections. Details on these two major topics will be made public as soon as they are worked out and submitted to the ruling party's central standing committee for approval.

The decision made in principle on these two major topics is of great significance. As pointed out in this newspaper's editorial yesterday, it reflects the ruling party's magnanimity and sincerity as well as its determination to further implement democratic constitutional government. But, more importantly, it indicates the advent of a new era. The lifting of the martial law, which will allow the people to organize political groups to take part in political affairs according to the law, is only the beginning of this new era. Our society may have to face, one after another, waves of ensuing changes in not only the political but also economic, social, and even cultural fields.

Given the correctness of the above statement, not only will the government have to realize these changes and adapt itself to them both mentally and in reality, but also all quarters of society will have to accept the advent of these "gigantic changes" both psychologically and with deeds.

First of all, as far as the government is concerned, the lifting of the martial law to allow the people the freedom to organize political groups to take part in political affairs is merely a first step to restore peacetime constitutional government. Immediately following this first step, efforts will be required from the central and local governments not only to legalize all kinds of political organs but also, more importantly, to restore their normal functions in the spirit of constitutional government. To be more specific, the central government should not only accelerate the study of

revitalizing people's representative bodies at the national level but also invigorate the parliamentary system to enable it to become the center of the government's policy-making process, thereby demonstrating that our country entered the stage of parliamentary democratic government a long time ago. Local governments should not only implement the self-government system but also enable it to embody the spirit of Dr Sun Yat-sen's legacy as quickly as possible.

Second, as far as our society is concerned, all trades and professions should welcome the advent of the new era with an open mind, regardless of their involvement in political affairs. First of all, the masses of people should take the initiative to actively participate in social reform in the spirit of serving the community and seeking its progress.

In the foreseeable future, our society will experience major and rapid changes not only in the political but also economic and cultural fields. In particular, the value concept in our cultural life will undergo a readjustment process of "getting rid of old banes and making reforms," which will require the efforts of conscientious and enthusiastic members of our society to enable us to pass through a transitional period of disorder, as it is generally called nowadays, and set up as quickly as possible new norms of life and value systems suitable to Chinese in the new era.

In a nutshell, the advent of the new era is an irresistable trend, which we, rather than confront, should conform with. Sufficient preparations can bring us a brighter future in the new era. Therefore, everybody should not only correctly understand this but also make ample mental preparations.

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CSO: 4005/163

EDITORIAL ON RETROCESSION DAY ANNIVERSARY

OW291418 Taipei LIEN HO PAO in Chinese 25 Oct 86 p 2

[Editorial: "There Is no Taiwan Issue But Only China Issue--the Task of the Times"]

[Excerpts] Today is the retrocession day of Taiwan. A Chinese Communist pilot's defection to South Korea for freedom on the eve of this holiday shows a great significance of this particular day. In his message to the people on the Retrocession Day, President Chiang Ching-kuo pointed out: "Whenever I think of the great efforts made by the soldiers and people of the nation to recover Taiwan, their efforts to construct Taiwan after the retrocession, and their endeavors today in an attempt to recover mainland China, I deeply feel that this part of the history is so very important to the future and fate of China and that the meaning of the Retrocession Day of Taiwan is of great significance to all Chinese people."

Based on the historical fact that Taiwan was recovered by China, China and Taiwan are inseparable. Since China's struggle for national independence and unification had been focused on recovering Taiwan, the Taiwan issue is essentially a China issue. Viewed from a passive sense, there would have been no Taiwan issue at all if China had lost in the Resistance War. Viewed from a positive sense, only because of the sacrifice by the entire Chinese people was Taiwan recovered, and because of the continued legality of the Republic of China Taiwan exists. We can clearly see from these two perspectives that the existance of the Republic of China and the reunification of China are prerequisites for Taiwan's existence and development. Today, there is only the question of how to develop China's future, and no such question as what Taiwan's future will be.

The "Taiwan Independence Movement" is a desperate struggle of a few careerists which absolutely goes against the historical conditions and the demands of the times and is against the wishes of all the Chinese people. So far as the Constitution of the Republic of China is concerned, the Taiwan Independent Movement is a treasonous act that violates national sovereignty; with regard to the importance of combating communism and safeguarding Taiwan's safety and freedom, any move by the Taiwan Independence Movement will immediately lead Communist China to use force against Taiwan; as far as the

future of China's freedom, democracy, reunification, and reconstruction is concerned, the Taiwan Independence Movement is against the volition and wishes of all Chinese people at home and abroad.

While celebrating the Retrocession Day of Taiwan today, we must clearly understand that the Taiwan issue will not be solved unless the China issue is solved in accordance with Chinese people's wishes. Only by facing the reality and being practical can the China issue be solved and can the ideals and goals of further developing Taiwan be realized.

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CSO: 4005/163

BRIEFS

MAINLAND NEWS OFFERED--According to a report by Taiwan's ZHONGHUA RIBAO, the Mainland China Research Center recently showed weekly news reports of events in the Chinese mainland on a 78" screen at its exhibition hall on mainland events in Taipei. Since the showing of such reports, this program has attracted a large audience. The exhibition hall has been operated by the Mainland China Research Center for 12 years. The center is now consulting with departments concerned on matter of showing similar news reports at city and country cultural centers throughout Taiwan Province. [Text [Beijing in Mandarin to Taiwan 0400 GMT 13 Oct 86 OW] /6662

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18 DECEMBER 1986

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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18 DECEMBER 1986

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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LIAOWANG PROFILES POLISH LEADER JARUZELSKI

HK080803 Beijing LIAOWANG in Chinese No 39, 29 Sep 86 p 8

[Article by Zhu Chengjun [4555 2110 6511]: "Polish Leader Jaruzelski"]

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party and chairman of the Polish Council of State, made a work visit to China in late September. This was the first visit of a Polish leader to China in more than 20 years.

Jaruzelski has been in power for 5 years, and has become a famous figure in the world because of his special role in handling the incident of the Solidarity Trade Union and stabilizing the Polish situation.

Jaruzelski is a career military officer. He was born in 1923 to an intellectual family in Kuwafu [1655 3907 1133] Ward, Lublin Voivodship. He joined the Polish Army founded by the Soviet Union in 1943 and participated in the battles of liberating Warsaw and the battles on Ord River and Elbe River. After World War II, he entered the military academy to study and successively took the posts of division commander, director of the General Political Department, and chief of staff of the Polish Army. He was appointed to be minister of defense in 1968 and was promoted to be Army general in 1973.

He is tall and has a broad forehead. He speaks with a low and steady intonation. He always wears a pair of sunglasses, and has a serious appearance. He seldom meets with foreign reporters or talks with them. According to one of his close friends, although Jaruzelski is a reticent person, he has a warm heart toward other people, especially his subordinates.

Jaruzelski became prime minister in February 1981. At that time, the labor trouble in Poland continued for 6 months. The situation in Poland was turbulent; the Polish economy is declining; and the public was deeply upset by the social unrest. Under these circumstances, as a prime minister, he shouldered heavy responsibilities.

As a government head, Jaruzelski consistently carried out the social reform line of his party and the policy of settling social conflicts through negotiations. He held that only reform can rescue Poland's

economy, which was on the brink of collapse. He advocated that the church should be separated from politics and that the church and the government should respect each other. He firmly maintained the position of the party and the government toward the Solidarity Trade Union and also adopted some flexible approaches.

In October 1981, he replaced Kania as first secretary of the party Central Committee. At that time, the domestic situation in Poland had become very serious, and the Solidarity Trade Union was sharply confronted with the government and the conflicts were intensifying. The whole world, both the East and the West, focused attention on the state of events in Poland. Jaruzelski held that Poland's policy must be formed in light of the realities in Europe and in the world and must be in line with the stability of the entire European mainland. Poland is a sovereign country, so "Poland's issues must be solved by the Polish people themselves." On 13 December 1981, he announced the imposition of the rule of martial law and the ban on the Solidarity Trade Union. The Polish authorities then arrested most leading members of the trade union. He explained that this measure is for the purpose of terminating "the fratricidal conflicts" and preventing the country from collapsing.

In the field of foreign policy, Jaruzelski's main headache in recent years is Poland's relations with the United States. After Poland adopted martial law, the United States imposed economic sanctions and caused economic losses to Poland. Jaruzelski expressed his willingness to improve relations with the United States many times, but he also emphasized that Poland will not yield to any external pressure. He adheres to the principle that the normalization of Polish-U.S. relations must be on the basis of the United States respecting Poland's sovereignty, stopping interfering in Poland's internal affairs, and maintaining equality in the two countries' bilateral relations.

People do not know too much about his private life. He likes horseriding and regards it a good way of rest. His wife works with the Warsaw University. They have a daughter.

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CSO: 4005/162

WRITER BAI HUA VISITS SOVIET UNION

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 6 Sep 86 p 14

[Article by Xiang Zhuang [7309 8369]: "Bai Hua Visits the Soviet Union"]

[Text] Bai Hua [4101 2901] is finally allowed to go abroad, but the destination of his visit is the Soviet Union. Apparently, the higher-ups still do not quite trust him and he also seems to be not so enthusiastic about his first trip abroad.

In the past few years, Bai Hua has received invitations from the United States and France, but he has not been approved to go. This shows the impact the "Unrequitted Love" has made on the leading body of the Chinese Communist Party. "You love your motherland, but does your motherland love you?" This is an unreserved, penetrating criticism. Although the current leading body is against the cultural revolution or even Mao Zedong, it still cannot carry this cross.

When interviewed on the visit to the Soviet Union, Bai Hua said: "I thought since I could go out, I would go because the results of visiting people in downtown or rural areas are, after all, different. Apparently, he likened the Soviet Union to rural areas and the west, downtown areas. He also mentioned that "The position of the Hong Kong area is very important."

Bai Hua made some favorable comments on the literary and art policy of the Soviet Union. He said: the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has always approved the expression of family ethics and even humanitarian sentiment in literary and artistic works. Lately, there have been talks about lifting the ban on "Doctor Zhivago," but he could not comprehend why the Soviet Union rejects western symphonies.

As for the relaxing of the literary and art policy of the Communist Party of China, he gave cautious approval. He described the literary functions and the techniques of expressions in current mainland China as going from unitary to diversified. For instance, unlike the past when for a long time writers were allowed to write only in a serious manner, today, they can do humorous writing.

For an outstanding patriotic writer (genuine, not parenthesized) like Bai Hua, the Communist Party of China ought to give him total freedom and let him do whatever he wants so that he can cultivate a higher level of "artistic mind." They should not be afraid that he might do what Yu Luojin [6657 5012 6930] did--asking the West for political asylum--because they may be able to keep his body but not his mind. They should let nature takes its course. Besides, it is impossible for a country to constantly prevent its people from fleeing.

12302
CSO: 4005/71

DENG XIAOPING'S LINE FOR CHINA'S REFORM DISCUSSED

Hong Kong PAI HSING [THE PEOPLE] in Chinese No 128, 16 Sep 86 pp 5-7

[Article by Zhang Rong [1728 2837]: "Deng Xiaoping's Line and the Chinese-style Reform; A Discussion on the 6th Plenary Session of 12th CPC Central Committee"]

[Text] The 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee will be held in Beijing within the last 10 days of this month, during which, the Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Society with an Advanced Culture and Ideology will be adopted along with the drafting of the agenda for next year's 13th CPC Congress and the list of candidates for central committee membership will be drafted. As we understand, the coming plenary session will touch on certain aspects of the task of accelerating the economic structural reform next year. The high-level CPC leaders are also keenly feeling the necessity and urgency of the political structural reform which has raised many outcries in and outside the mainland. Because of its complex nature and the many issues involved, a political structural reform calls for great caution. Apparently, the leading CPC members did not clearly define the scope of or work out the specific plan for this reform during the sultry days when they met at the "summer resort," Beidaihe. That was why Deng Xiaoping announced that the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee will not have time to discuss the issue of a political structural reform, although certain aspects of it may be taken up. The writer of this article believes that since this statement was made by Deng Xiaoping, the helmsman of China's political future, its authoritative nature is beyond question. Thus certain signs of the Sixth Plenary Session's "main thrust" are in the offing.

Modern Civilization, Relaxed Atmosphere

On his inspection tour to Qinghai Province at the end of August, Hu Yaobang, General Secretary of CPC Central Committee, said that the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee would soon be convened, and that one of the items on the agenda would be the examination and discussion of the "Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Society with an Advanced Culture and Ideology." He believed that this resolution would have a profound influence on cultural and ideological developments, just as the Decision of the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC

Central Committee on Reform of the Economic Structure had on material development.

High-level CPC leaders believe that "open windows will let in flies." Since the "open and reform" policy was implemented in the mainland several years ago, the imperfection of some policies and the conflicts between the new and the old mechanism of economic management, which were simultaneously at work, created some loopholes which were taken advantage of by unscrupulous people for personal gains. Bribery, speculation and profiteering, and the practice of under-the-counter dealings through personal relationship severely poisoned the social atmosphere. Unhealthy tendencies in the CPC also became rampant. That was why the party launched the "rectification movement" at the beginning of this year. The cultural and ideological development according to the "Resolution" this time is in fact a continuation of the "five stresses, four points of beauty, and three loves" movement which has been going on in the mainland for several years, although its substance will be expanded to include "education in the common ideal," "raising the ethical standards," and "developing democracy and strengthen the legal system." Of course, it also affirms the guiding role and position of Marxism and sets the tasks for and the demands on the party and its members.

As we understand, at a meeting of the Secretariat of the Central Committee held immediately after the conclusion of last year's National Conference of Party Delegates, it was decided that the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee should discuss and adopt the "Resolution on Strengthening Cultural and Ideological Development." Later, a group was organized to draft the required documents. The "solicitation of comments" was adopted at the meetings held by the Secretariat and the Politburo in Beidaihe this summer. Then at the end of August and the beginning of September, this document was distributed to various departments of the party Central Committee, to the party organization members of various ministries and commissions under the State Council, and to the party standing committees of all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions for discussion. Many democratic parties and groups, mass organizations, and minority nationalities, and hundreds religious leaders and well-known scholars read the draft of the "Resolution," took part in the discussion, and expressed their views on its revision. In the past several years, before holding any important meeting or making any important policy decision, it was customary for the CPC to invite people in various circles outside the party to report on the relevant conditions and to discuss the relevant issues as a gesture of cooperation.

According to information revealed, the "Resolution" will reaffirm the need for "well-educated and self-disciplined socialist citizens with lofty ideals and moral integrity" as the guiding principle, and "to raise the ideological and ethical standards as well as the educational and scientific levels of the whole nation" as the basic task. It demands that along with the development of material civilization, the all-round reform, and the open-door policy, a corresponding cultural and ideological development is necessary, and that everything should be done "to unite the people and bring their socialist enthusiasm and initiative into play, to meet their cultural and intellectual needs, to raise their ideological and ethical standards, and to develop education, science and culture."

To those who are concerned with the mainland's political situation, careful observation will reveal that from the late 1970's to the early 1980's, people in the literary and arts and theoretical circles have frequently resorted to such "leftist" methods as criticizing "bourgeois liberalization," while the movement to "clear away ideological contamination" imposed restrictions even on what people wear in their daily life. All this created an uneasy "sense of an impending crisis." This time, the obvious purpose of "cultural and ideological development" is to eliminate the element of man-made instability and to created a relaxed and harmonious atmosphere with stress on morality and modern civilization so as to end people's uneasiness and to "supplement" economic construction.

The Persons Holding State Power during the Change-over from the Older to the Younger Generation

Recently, Deng Xiaoping once again openly expressed his inclination to retire completely from the political stage at the "13th CPC Congress" next year. In the history of the CPC over the past 65 years, Deng Xiaoping was the first to advocate abolition of the system of lifelong tenure and the introduction of a system of retirement. He said: "My retirement before my death may be advantageous to the continuance of current policies. This is my long cherished personal conviction." However, this suggestion met with a chorus of opposition from people at all levels in the party, and even the people in all walks of life outside the party seemed unwilling to accept it. Hu Qili [5170 0796 4539], Permanent Secretary of the Secretariat of the Central Committee, has openly announced that some veteran revolutionaries who enjoy high prestige and command universal respect will continue to remain in their leading posts.

In fact, according to his ideas and foresight, Deng's primary concern is with the continuance of the "open and reform" policy and the attainment of the goal of modernization, while his remaining in or retiring from office as a personal matter is only a secondary consideration. If a person of 82 has to perform the state's important tasks, the weight of his responsibility can be easily imagined.

We can anticipate that the question of Deng's remaining or retiring will be discussed at the Sixth Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee. Furthermore, Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang, who are nearly 70 years of age, have also openly expressed their intention of withdrawing from the "first line" in the next year.

From this, it will not be difficult to anticipate a series of readjustments for the change-over from the older to the younger generations at the top decision-making level during the "13th Party Congress." According to information received, 130 promising people in their 30's and 40's will join the new central committee. As a political ruling force, the new administration under Deng, Hu, and Zhao has won wide popularity. However, according to an old proverb, "It was by a stream that the Master said, 'Thus do things flow away!'" The new political stars whom they have promoted, such as Hu Qili, Li Peng [2621 7720], Tian Jiyun [3944 4764 0061], Qiao Shi [0829 4258], Wu Xueqian [0702 1331 6197], and Wang Zhaoguo [3769 0340 0948], are now

fast rising, while others like Zhu Houze [2612 0624 3419], director of the Propaganda Department; Wei Jianxing [1414 0256 5887], director of the Organization Department; Zhu Liang [2612 5328], director of the International Liaison Department, and Wen Jiabao [3306 1367 1405], director of the General Office of Central Committee, are also holding real power in various key departments of the party and the government.

People have no idea of whether the post of General Secretary, now taken by Hu Yaobang, will be transferred to some other person; but there is hardly any doubt that Zhao Ziyang will retire from his premiership at the Seventh NPC 2 years later. It may be hard to ascertain whether Permanent Secretary Hu Qili, who has been running the Secretariat, belongs to the "first line," but it is beyond question that Zhao Ziyang as Premier of the State Council does belong to it under any circumstance. Both Hu and Zhao have announced that beginning next year, their work on the "first line" will be reduced, and Zhao's relinquishment of his title is only a matter of time. Furthermore, according to the constitution, a person can serve as a premier for only two consecutive terms, which Zhao has already completed. As to whether he will take up some other post, or retire completely, the writer will not hazard any guess.

Vice premiers Li Peng, Tian Jiyun, and Qiao Shi, and State Councilor Wu Xueqian are all well-educated and capable leaders. With the exception of Qiao Shi, they have all been in charge of certain State Council functions for several years, and have many times visited foreign countries. Their prestige is rising day after day. Enjoying the reputation of "young and healthy" leading cadres of a new generation, they are only a stone's throw away from premiership. As to exactly who will be promoted to this position, only the Seventh NPC can reveal.

In order to ensure the continuity of policies, it was at first the practise of the CPC to let the older cadres help the younger cadres "mount the horse" and then "escort them over some distance." Because of the accelerated measures to set up "young leading bodies" in recent years, new persons are now boldly appointed to important posts, and the method of helping them "mount the horse" and then letting them "go for a full gallop" has been used. We can imagine that the new CPC political stars represented by Hu Qili will decide on the mainland's political future.

Eliminate the Mystery, Promote Openly

Several days ago, Tian Jiyun announced a major reform in the CPC's personnel organization system, meaning that hereafter, the method of first compiling a list of third-echelon members, and then sending them down to some basic-level units for a certain period of tempering before promoting them would no longer be used, and that those who have distinguished themselves in basic level work and have won popular support would be promoted.

To solve the problem of an aging leading body, CPC formerly had in mind the formation of echelons of cadres. However, certain obvious defects in the internal selection of third-echelon members brought adverse comments from various quarters, and Wang Ruowan [3769 5387 2598], a well-known author in Shanghai, openly opposed this method. First, because only a handful of people

participate in the selection of third-echelon members, such a selection may be based on personal favor or prejudice, or on a one-sided analysis. Sending the candidates down to the basic levels for tempering may be merely "a formality." These candidates already "knew what is in store for them," and the basic-level cadres would do everything they could to please them. At the same time, this method of "internal arrangement" would help the opportunists, and tend to put people under obligation to the older cadres who have extended their "helping hand" so that these people must flatter and toady their bosses instead of fulfilling their social duties and serving the people. Immediately after joining the "leading body," some young cadres may be overwhelmed with the same routine jobs and gradually lose their interest in reform and work. They would be afraid of uttering a wrong word or mishandling a single matter. The kind of tempering they receive each day is for the "skill of sitting" (sitting in the office), the "skill of meeting" (being engulfed in the sea of meetings), and the "skill of circling" (drawing small circles on the documents they are suppose to comment). As time goes on, they will be infected with "bureaucratism."

Since 1982, as we understand, tens of thousands of young and middle-age cadres on the mainland have taken up leading posts above the county and department levels. Their work has been outstanding, and most of them are competent for their jobs. However, some of them have been promoted too rapidly and lack the prestige of leaders or practical proficiency. Some of them may be good at professional jobs but not at the organization of management or the disposition of personnel. If we take into account the incompetent ones, such as Yu Tiemin [0151 6993 3046], deputy director of the staff office of Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, we can say that many wrong choices have been made.

The 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee will undoubtedly discuss the election of new members for the leading organs of the "13th CPC Central Committee." At the same time, certain analyses and "rearrangements" will be made for the third-echelon members selected and promoted in the past 2 years. According to authoritative sources, among the young and middle-age leading cadres who have been elected central committee members during last year's National Conference of Party Delegates, and who subsequently took up leading posts at the provincial, municipal and autonomous regional levels, "it is inevitable that some persons who should not be admitted have actually been admitted. It is also difficult to leave out those who have 'entered by the back door' through various channels." Those who have been wrongly selected will be dismissed, while those who have committed crimes, offered or accepted bribes will be dealt with according to party discipline or state law.

Some high-level CPC leaders believe that in dealing with the young cadres who are unfit for leading posts in the party or the government, "it would be better to decide on some early action--the earlier the action, the greater will be our initiative. If we fail to make any progress in the solution of this problem in the current and the next year, more problems will accumulate to obstruct the intensification of the reform." By that time, the departure of some young cadres who had newly joined the party central committee can only be a foregone conclusion.

As we can see, a really urgent need of the moment is to replace the method of secretive and mysterious observation with that of scientific and open selection of cadres. According to CPC's former cadre system, there can be "only promotion, but no demotion," and people are accustomed to the concept that cadres would never leave their office, unless they have committed some terrible mistake. Now, the system of "promotion as well as demotion," under which readjustments can be made for those who are incompetent, calls for a real "conceptual renovation." The new wage system stipulates that while the wages should be commensurate with the duty involved, those who are dismissed will have their income reduced. This is vastly different from the former system under which the veteran cadres who worked for the party before the founding of the People's Republic could still have the same income after retirement. For this reason, greater difficulties will be encountered in making this type of readjustment. Nevertheless, the adoption of the new cadre system and new wage system can be quickly accomplished, because the high-level leaders have already set their mind on it.

Intraparty Differences, Not Factionalism

Hu Qili spoke on the subject of "democratic centralism" not long ago. He said: "There are people of diversified backgrounds and specialties working together in a leading body." Therefore, "the expression of different views and opinions on work is a good thing and not a bad thing. The comrades holding different opinions should never be accused of belonging to some 'group.' We should let them speak up, seriously consider their views, and invite them to talk about the possible troubles they anticipate. Then we should think of some way to avoid these troubles. When we have found the way, we should talk to them again to find out if there could be any further problems. If they cannot point out any more problem, we will proceed with the work.

In its "forum" section, HONGQI, the authoritative and theoretical journal of the CPC, admitted that inside the party, "there are many contradictions--between different opinions in matters of understanding in work, and between personal interests on the one hand and the interests of the party and the people on the other." The article admitted: "We must create the kind of atmosphere in which many contradictions can be resolved through discussion, exchange of views, heart-to-heart talks, and mutual understanding instead of repeating the former method of man-made intensification of contradictions causing tremendous losses.... We must not be afraid of going through troubles in developing democracy." In an atmosphere of relaxed and harmonious democracy which has prevailed among the higher CPC authorities since last spring, the arbitrary action of affixing labels, using the big stick, and seizing on others faults is becoming increasingly unpopular. At the same time, under the relaxed policies, we certainly should tolerate different opinions and views in interpreting the "open and reform" policy.

Since CPC came to rule over the mainland, one thing most feared and hated by the high-level decision-makers is to be sucked into the vortex of factionalism. Numerous factions were created during the "Great Cultural Revolution," and the credit for this creation should go to Lin Biao and the "gang of four" headed by Jiang Qing. The current use of such old terms as

"reformist group," "conservative group," and so forth, is highly improper. People expect a more democratic form of government, and the difference in political views can be easily revealed. It would be a great advantage to the state and the government if policy decisions are made scientifically after discussions, experiments, and confirmation. That was why Hu Qili said: "If you ask some person about his 'group' affiliation, he would only remain silent. This practice is dangerous, because the effects of any policy not yet enforced cannot be entirely anticipated." He found the remarks of some Western observers very amusing when they referred to this group and that group as though the abnormal conditions of the "cultural revolution" still exist. The reason is that if we arbitrarily classify the high-level leaders according to their part in policy decisions at various stages of the reform in Communist China during the past several years, such classifications would be mostly erroneous. Compared with the situation in the age of Mao Zedong, this tolerance of different political views and opinions in high-level policy decisions of the CPC is, in my opinion, certainly a big step forward. From the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee to the "13th CPC Congress," there is little doubt that many different views will be voiced.

As to those high-level CPC leaders who have severely violated the law, the problem certainly cannot be solved through democracy and leniency. That is why the CPC has formed the Central Leading Group for Party Rectification to handle the major and serious cases, and to "hunt the tigers, "high-ranking officials," as a means of mollifying public indignation. As we understand, new progress has been made recently, although in dealing with matters of this nature, it would be better to have "more action than talking" or "to act instead of talk." That is why little publicity has been given.

9411
CSO: 4005/073

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY, POLITICAL STRUCTURAL REFORM

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 8 Aug 86 p 1

[Article by Wang Huning [3769 3337 1337], associate professor of the Department of International Politics, Fudan University: "Economic Activities and the Reform of Political System"]

[Excerpt] Economic development is demanding that the reform of political system be carried out in two directions:

1. The functional reform of the political system. Due to the changes in economic activities and because such changes are an indispensable precondition for China's four modernizations, the past highly centralized method of social resource distribution is no longer applicable. The political system is changing in regard to the method of social resource distribution at the high, middle, and lower levels: The high (central) level is going from command-style distribution to distribution combining command and guidance; the middle (provincial and municipal) level is going from executive distribution to distribution combining execution and policy making; and the lower level (below district, county, and bureau levels) is going from materialized distribution to distribution combining materialization and coordination. Instead of giving earnest exhortations, political organs at all levels, through their distribution methods and principles, create an all-around environment for economic activities to promote economic development. Some of the requirements of the functional reform have already been spelled out in practice; others have not. At the same time, they will inevitably demand structural reform of political system.

2. The structural reform of the political system. Structural and functional reforms compliment each other. Structural reform is often the official affirmation of the statement of changes which have already occured in functions. Judged from the current situation, the structural reform of the political system should be carried out mainly in two directions: 1) Horizontal power delegation. Horizontal power delegation may occur at the high, middle, and lower levels. Every level needs to conduct rational horizontal power delegation. Of course, the horizontal power delegation of the high level is still more important because it has a direct bearing on the overall and strategic distribution of social resources. Through horizontal power delegation, we should achieve a good political mechanism to avoid the overlapping of powers and the crossing of jurisdiction and establish a certain relation that would balance powers between different horizontal organs to

ensure that the distribution of social resources meet the demands of social economic activities in China; 2) Vertical power delegation namely is to define the jurisdiction of political organs at all levels, smash the system of high centralization, and give appropriate powers to political organs at all levels so that they can make decisions for the distribution of social resources at middle and sub-mid levels according to the specific conditions and situations of their areas and accelerate economic development according to local conditions. The jurisdiction of central and local authorities and other departments should all be changed according to changed economic activities.

The above two levels of reform are relatively direct demands set after the reform of the economic system. However, these two relatively direct demands also indicate two other directions in the reform of political system:

First, the reform of the political policy-making procedure. The social resource distribution of a political system is hinged on the policy making of the political system. The intention and action of social resource distribution of the political system constitute the policies and leadership of social economic activities. Today, after drastic changes have taken place in economic activities, the political policy-making procedure of the past must also be changed accordingly. The new economic activity model demands that the political system switch from direct to indirect social resource distribution. This method of distribution is even more difficult and demands a higher degree of artistry. It should provide the best all-round environment for the economic activities ofthe whole of society, but it should not directly control the economic activities of society. This demands that the political policy-making procedure is able to gather fully and reflect all information and ideas of society, carry out the coordination and integration of maximum economic results, and formulate the best policy of social resource distribution. To achieve this, the political system must strengthen democratic progress, expand openess, reduce closeness, gather, through systematic mechanism and organs, as much information and ideas related to the economic activities of society as possible, and distribute social resources in the most rational manner.

Second, reform of the cadre system. The political structure and functions of all political systems are formed and materialized by a certain number of people. The social resource distribution method that suits new economic activities and relations needs to be guaranteed with a cadre contingent of modernized qualities. China's current cadre system still has some defects in regard to selection, training, evaluation, promotion, and supervision. It cannot meet the demands of the future economic activity model. Through the reform of the cadre system, we should eliminate the phenomena of bureaucracy, power overcentralization, patriarchal system, power abuse, being divorced from reality, ideological ossification, sticking to conventions, overstaffing, and irresponsibility which exist in the political system and ensure that the political system can distribute social resources in the most rational and scientific manner. In a certain sense, at present, the reform of the cadre system is a rather urgent link in the reform of political system.

12302
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COORDINATION OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC REFORMS DISCUSSED

Shanghai MINZHU YU FAZHI [DEMOCRACY AND LEGAL SYSTEM] in Chinese No 8, 20 Aug 86 pp 20-21

[Article by Liu Shiding [0491 0013 1353]: "The Reform of Political Structure Should Be Carried out in Coordination With Reform of the Economic Structure"]

[Excerpts] The issue of the reform of political structure attracts more and more attention from the people. Where to start and how to proceed with this reform must be carefully considered by those who are enthusiastic about reform. But, before a concrete reform plan is advanced, it is necessary to sort out some basic thoughts.

I think that while considering the current reform of the political structure, it is necessary to stress the issue of coordination between the reform of political structure and the reform of the economic structure, namely the issue of carrying out reforms in these two fields in a coordinated manner. Only by so doing can the reform of political structure have a solid social foundation and progress with outstanding achievements.

Reforms Should be Coordinated in Three Areas

The combination or coordinated development of the reforms of political and economic structures involves a series of complicated issues. To put it briefly, they can be divided into three areas: The coordinations of target model, current situation study, and reform procedures.

1. The Coordination of Target Model

The target model discussed here is the target model of the current reform, not general discussions about the future of Marxism and socialism.

Whether the target model of the political structural reform is coordinated and coincide with that of the economic structural reform is an issue of critical importance to whether the reforms in these two fields can progress in a coordinated manner. Although political and economic reforms are both reforms, if the choices of target models fail to coordinate with each other, the reforms will clash in many respects and fail to achieve good results.

Therefore, the coordination of the target model should be first considered when considering the coordinated development of the political structural reform and the economic structural reform.

After several years of practice in economic structural reform and the study and analysis of China's economic development, the target model of China's economic structural reform is now basically clear. To put it briefly, this is a model for the economic structure of socialist commodity economy. I think that the target model of the political structural reform should correspond to this.

Currently, there are still many confused ideas about the point that China's political structure should correspond to the development of a socialist commodity economy. For instance, some people think that it means implementing the principle of the exchange of equal value in political life, thus making bribery a public practice and encouraging public office employees to engage in graft and embezzlement. This is a pure misunderstanding. Bribery, graft, and embezzlement are long-existing phenomena which are not necessarily linked to the commodity economy. As for the principle of the exchange of equal value, it has never been implemented even in the capitalist political system which is built on the basis of a capitalist commodity economy.

What needs to be pointed out is that there are also some comrades who are enthusiastic about the reform of political structure but seldom consider the question of how can the target model of the political structural reform correspond to socialist commodity economy. This cannot but be considered a flaw.

When considering the target model of the political structural reform, it is necessary to study related theories in the classics of Marxism concerning the political system of a future society. However, we should realize that neither Marx, Engels, nor Lenin had the theory of socialist commodity economy and it was impossible for them to consider the issue of political system from the viewpoint of socialist commodity economy. Therefore, we should not be confined to their theories. Instead, we should do creative thinking according to the practice of socialism.

Meanwhile, we should pay attention to studying the political systems of capitalist countries. In the past, we overemphasized the aspect of class nature in capitalist political systems and ignored the content of the part concerning the function of general social management which is based on the foundation of the commodity economy. The content of this part is of use to us when we study the target model of political structure that corresponds to socialist commodity economy.

Of course, in studying a target model, the most important thing is to have a clear understanding of China's current situation and proceed from China's reality. We will discuss this further in the following.

2. The Coordination of Current Situation Studies

This is, namely, to conduct a comprehensive study of the current situtions of China's economic and political systems. Through such study, we should have a clear understanding of the operational and interactive mechanisms of old political and economic structures, and find out in which links the old political structure hinders the old economic structure from establishing and developing. Only on the basis of such a study can we design reform plans and procedures in a scientific manner.

3. The Coordination of Reform Procedures

Reforms cannot achieve good results unless they are carried out in a coordinated manner which is an experience provided by the reform of economic structure. This is especially true in the case that political and economic structural reforms are carried out simultaneously. We should realize that in certain respects the political structural reform is more difficult and time-consuming than the economic structural reform. Therefore, it is imperative to distinguish those reforms which take a short time to complete from those which take longer and do a good job in the alignment and combination of various reforms. The thinking of accomplishing the whole task at one stroke cannot guide the complex and profound reform currently carried out in China.

The coordinated development of political and economic structural reforms is dynamic coordination, not the absolute balance of progress. The absolute balance of progress is impossible. It is unavoidable for the political or the economic structural reform to surpass the other within a certain range. Yugoslavia started with political structural reform which resulted in economic structural reform whereas Hungary set forth the task of political structural reform after its economic structural reform progressed to a certain degree. China's economic and political developments are uneven to begin with. China is also a large country with very complex situations; thus the uneven development of reforms is even more unavoidable. Here, a very important thing is to control the "degree" of the uneveness.

12302
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COMMENTARY ON COUNTRY'S POLITICAL STRUCTURAL REFORM

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 107, Sep 86 pp 14-16

[Article by Xu Xing [6079 5887]: "Controversy over Party Rights versus People's Rights; Commentary on Political Structural Reform"]

[Text] From Whisperings to Open Talks

In its late June issue, SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO frontpaged an article entitled "Whisperings about Political Reform Has Become Open Talks." The word "whisperings" was most appropriately used.

Politics have been in command in China for more than 30 years. The official language consisted almost entirely of political phraseology, and to talk about politics in any other language would be very dangerous. That is why people have all along regarded politics as a very sensitive issue. They may voice different views on the economic reform or economic structural reform, but until very recently, nobody dared to demand political reform or political structural reform openly. They might have whispered about it, because the climate was not ripe for it to be discussed openly.

Recently, probably because the opponents of "ideological contamination" have lost their power and the atmosphere of academic freedom has prevailed, the policy of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend" is once again given prominence, and the need of a relaxed and harmonious environment for culture and arts is now officially advocated. Because of this open atmosphere, the call for political reform has gradually changed from whisperings to open talks.

Discussion Meeting of Young Scholars in Beijing

The discussion on political reform was probably touched off by the young scholars in Beijing. In May this year, ZHONGGUO SHEHUIXUE, the Young People's Social Science Forum of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, and the editorial department of ZHENGZHIXUE YANJIU jointly held an academic discussion meeting of young people, and the topic of discussion was "reform and development of China's political system." All the participants agreed that "China's economic structural reform will certainly lead to political, ideological and cultural changes and developments. This sensitive issue cannot be passively evaded or

be allowed to take its natural course. We should actively strive for the initiative, or we will not be able to take full advantage of the excellent opportunity provided by the economic development and the economic structural reform to promote social progress."

These remarks clearly reflect the desire of the new generation of young and middle-age intellectuals in China to have a conscious grip on the situation of the economic reform. They belong to the active and progressive, but not the passive and evasive type. While hoping that China's economic reform will become an irreversible trend, they also hope that the same irreversible trend will likewise appear in China's political, cultural and ideological progress.

According to the published reports, this meeting discussed the question of proper relationships among different political organizations, the special characteristics of political structural development at various stages, the coordination between state laws and party policies, the question of efficiency of the legislative, judicial and executive departments, and the effects of changes in economic and political concepts. It was reported that some new viewpoints and constructive proposals were offered during the discussion, and the following are what was generally agreed on:

For the study of political theories, aside from the traditional methods, there should be analyses of and explorations in economic reform in the light of social realities.

While full guarantee of socialist democracy is undoubtedly one of the main goals of China's political structural reform, the low level of China's economic development should also be considered.

Democracy is not antagonistic to centralism. Democracy is opposed to autocracy, while decentralism is opposed to centralism. Unscientific and arbitrary action must be opposed and dispersed efforts must be guarded against so that the resources can be concentrated on the key projects.

The lateral ties of enterprises need an environment for fair competition under effective legislative and judicial conditions, and the promotion of these lateral ties would strengthen the bonds between the economic and the political structural reform.

The question of political structure is a highly sensitive one. At present, the study of political science is not only inadequate for the practical needs of daily life, but also lagging behind the study of economics and other sciences. Greater efforts should be made in the study of political theories and personnel training.

[Bailunde's] Unexpected Role

At that time, Thomas Evan [Bailunde], president of Hungarian Academy of Sciences and one of the principal theorists in Hungary's economic reform, visited China. In Beijing, he publicized certain views and information concerning Hungary's political reform.

He said: "No economic reform can be completely successful without a political reform. The experiences of economic reform in Hungarian have illustrated this point. I believe the practice in China will similarly prove it."

He said in his analysis: "Society is a complex entity. A country cannot deal with its economic problems as an isolated issue and in separation from politics and culture. Reform as a rule begins in the political field. Political reform, the promulgation of new policies, and the atmosphere of cultural and academic freedom will be the foundation of a basic economic reform. In this sense, political reform is the first requisite of any reform."

Speaking of the specific issues, he said: "A very important factor is the freedom to express divergent views. ...Even in dealing with a very small number of oppositionists, we should let them express their completely different views without any political pressure from us."

Unexpectedly, [Bailunde's] views had an inspiring effect on the political reform then brewing in China.

Two Democratic Views among the Reformists

Another meeting for discussing the theories of a political structural reform was held by the party school of the CPC Central Committee from 10 to 12 July. Among those invited to attend were Gong Xiangrui [7895 4382 3843], professor of the Law Department, Beijing University; Gao Fang [7559 2397], professor of International Political Science, Chinese People's University; Chen Yizi [7115 0001 0745], director of China's Restructuring of the Economic System Research Institute; and the research workers and leaders of the relevant State Council departments totaling more than 130 persons.

Chen Yizi is a middle-age reformist. He joined the party at the age of 18, and entered Beijing University in 1959 to study physics at first and literature later. In 1963, because he spoke up for a rightist school mate, he was criticized and sent to the countryside. He later became a commune party committee secretary. Deng Yingtao [6772 5391 7118], son of Deng Liqun [6772 0500 5028], was then a production team leader under him. In 1975, he became acquainted with Hu Yaobang, then not quite famous.

The most discussed and most debated question in the discussion meeting was how to actually carry out the political structural reform, especially with regard to the breakthrough point in the reform. Some held that the separation of party and government functions with a rational distribution of power should serve as the breakthrough point, while others believed that only the establishment of a highly democratic socialist system can actually solve the problem of democracy versus centralism.

From these sketchy press reports, we can faintly notice the existence of divergent views inside the reformist camp on the steps to be taken in the practice of democracy. Some favored an "elite democracy," whereby the elite elements will have more say and power in the power structure. Others wanted "open democracy" so that the present political structure, characterized by a

concentration of power, will be fundamentally changed, while the people or the entire society will be able to exercise their democratic supervisory function.

Some kind of compromise seems to have been reached in the discussion meeting, because most people agreed that in carrying out the political structural reform, we must meet two key requirements, namely, the separation between party and government functions and democracy of a high degree, and the related problems will be easily solved.

Zhu Houze's [2621 0624 3419] Signal

Zhu Houze, Director of Central Committee Propaganda Department spoke at the meeting. His speech only gave a signal but contained no conclusion. He knew that the discussion on this question was only beginning and that no premature conclusion should be drawn.

He said: Along with the intensification of the economic structural reform, it would be necessary to further intensify the political structural reform. In his view, political structural reform is nothing new, since it began way back in 1979, and what had to be done now was only a matter of intensification. Probably, he considered the restructuring of the State Council and the introduction of the system of compulsory retirement in 1981 as part of the political structural reform program.

He added: Political, economic, ideological and cultural factors infiltrate into and affect one another. In studying a political structural reform, we must be active and yet cautious. We must think more deeply, look farther ahead, and proceed from realities. On the basis of thorough investigations and study, we should ponder over things carefully. After 7 years of reform, we must see what obstacle from the political structure has been encountered during the development of our economic reform, and what corresponding reform should be carried out in the political structure to further intensify the economic structural reform. We must also find out what improvement has been made in the system and in the leadership over socialist economic management and ideology.

This speech was very skillfully worded. It revealed the problems, but did not touch on their core; it presented views, but not on specific issues. It was indeed the speech of a tactful leader who knew that no definite conclusion could yet be reached. However, this speech proved at least one point: the CPC Central Committee's support for the current political structural reform. Whether this reform was initiated by the central committee or by the elite elements in the party, we do not know. In any case, many leaders of the central committee, such as Zhao Ziyang, Hu Qili [5170 0796 4539], Wang Zhaoguo [3769 0340 0948] and some others talked about the necessity of a political structural reform about the same time.

Deng Xiaoping's Talks

Recently, Beijing's ZUZHI RENSHI XINXI BAO carried a special report on Deng Xiaoping's talks on the political structural reform. These talks showed that were it not for the signal given by Deng Xiaoping, nobody, I think, would have dared to express any view on this reform. Deng Xiaoping said:

"When I last called on Zhao Ziyang and several other comrades to talk about economic work, I expressed the view that a reform of the political structure, including the of separation between party and government functions, should be given attention. Of course, there are other problems, such as the over-size departments with surplus personnel, and procrastination in work. When there are too many people, some work must be found for them. That is why many units have become companies in order to withdraw power from the lower levels. Comrade Peng Zhen [1756 4176] also felt the existence of this problem. Our policy is to delegate more power to the lower levels, and now the companies have withdrawn most of it, leaving practically no power for the lower levels. The enterprises have lost their enthusiasm, and the speed of development has declined precisely for this reason."

"The question of separation between party and government was raised way back in the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. The party should be good at leadership. It should not interfere too much. This practice should start with the Central Committee. It would not weaken the party's leadership, because in upholding party leadership, there is the question of good and poor leadership. If the party is over-involved, any undesirable result would weaken its leadership. This is the problem we fear."

"I think all comrades, particularly those of the Secretariat, should give some thought to the question of a political structural reform. Whether we can or cannot finally succeed in our other reforms will be decided by the outcome of the political structural reform. Everything depends on human efforts. If you want the power to be delegated to the lower levels and they withdraw the power, what can you do? The political structural reform and the economic structural reform should be inter-dependent and mutually coordinated. If we only carry out economic structural reform without a political structure reform, the economic structural reform will be unsuccessful because of man-made obstacles."

The Call for "Return of Power to People"

If we closely study Deng Xiaoping's talks, we will see that the kind of political structural reform he had in mind is biased toward separation between party and government functions, the problem of over-size departments with surplus personnel, and the question of delegating power to the lower levels. This is a limited reform, or, as it may be called, a reform within a certain framework. The purpose of the reform is to further consolidate the party power.

In society, however, some people are in favor of the consolidation of people's power as a foundation of the reform. For example, Fang Lizhi [2455 0536 0037], vice president of Chinese University of Science and Technology and a well-known astrophysicist, clearly stated that in discussing the political structural reform, the first question to be answered is "who depends on whom?"

or, to be exact, do people depend of government officials or vice versa? This question will touch on the so-called issue of "bureaucracy" or "democracy." Fang Lizhi said: In China, the time-honored ideology is that "government officials are superior to people," and that officials bestow favors to people. He commented: "The lack of separation between party and government functions and the substitution of party for government are one of the defects of China's current political structure." Therefore, he held that "supervision to be exercised by people is the key link in the reform of China's political structure."

Ding Richu [0002 2480 0443], Director of Economic History Research Office of Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, boldly criticized the concept that democracy means allowing people to speak. He said: Allowing people to speak cannot be equated to democracy, because there is the question of allowing and not allowing, or listening and not listening. People may be allowed to speak today, but not tomorrow. Also, even though you may speak, there is still the question of his listening or refusing to listen. Therefore, he held that democracy is a question of power, and there should really be "power for the people" and "power of the people."

Shang Ding [1412 0002], editor, Shanghai Dictionary Publishing House, said: "The present power structure is of a closed and mandatory type, and power is relayed to the lower levels as though through a pipeline. Speaking of reform, we must stress democracy, and then consider the way to convert the power structure from one of a closed to one of an open type."

Wu Shaozhong [0702 4801 0022], deputy chief editor, Shanghai Academy of Sciences Publishing House, criticized those who claimed, in the past, that "the speaker cannot be guilty." He said: The speaker is in fact guilty, although he is tolerated and free from indictment. He held that now should be the time to set right the relationship between the masters and the public servants.

Freedom of Speech as the Breakthrough Point in Political Reform

Difference between the concept of party power and that of the people's power is the watershed in China's political structural reform. Even on the same problem of, say, separation between party and government functions, the advocates of party power and those of people's power may hold different views and find different solutions. According to advocates of power for the party, party leadership over the government is only a natural law. All government officials, either party or nonparty members, must accept party leadership, and the most direct leadership over them is that of the party organization in their own department. According to this principle, the so-called separation between party and government functions can only mean that the government organs and government personnel should be separated from the party organs and party personnel in order to avoid overlapping; that the party organizations in the government organs should interfere less in, or relinquish their monopoly over administrative matters, so that the administrative personnel will have more say and power in policy decisions; and that the best to be expected is the introduction of the systems of consultation, scientific confirmation, and a public poll. If we look at the situation according to the concept of

genuine power for the people, the separation between party and government functions will mean that both the party and the government should have their own power. While party members form the basis of the party, people also form the basis of the government, and the power of the government should come from the people, and not from the party. Therefore, the way to reform is a genuine election of the NPC by the people so that the NPC will truly become the people's power organ. The government should be elected by the NPC, but not formed after deliberations in the party. Government officials may be party or nonparty members, and nonparty members are under no obligation to accept party leadership. Party members, of course, must accept party leadership, but only in matters of ideology.

Either party or nonparty members in the government are responsible only to the NPC and should be subject to the interrogations and supervision of the people's deputies as well as the supervision of the people through public opinion.

Therefore, according to the views of the advocates of people's power, the important breakthrough point in the political structural reform is the people's freedom of speech. This freedom should not be considered as a favor from the party or the officials, but an inherent right of the people as stipulated in the constitution. To exercise their inherent right of freedom of speech, the people must have their own platform. If Communist China is sincere in supporting the people for these rights, the first thing it should do is to eliminate the defect of a uniform way for all newspapers and journals in the country to guide public opinion. It must not run all newspapers and journals as official media or force them to speak only on behalf of the party and the government, but allow the people to take the responsibility for what they write. It must act in accordance with this spirit so that the responsible persons of the press and the editors will be absolved from any political responsibility for publishing divergent views. As the second step, it should turn some of the present newspapers and journals over to civilians for publication, or allow the civilians to raise funds to start their own publication. Publication law and press law should be worked out and all civilian as well as official publications should be governed by law.

Political structural reform is a very complex project, and it would be a good idea to let the social elites conduct extensive discussions. We believe that in view of the present political climate of the country, there is now internal freedom of speech for the elite elements, although their views cannot be fully publicized to produce the effects of information exchange. Therefore, promotion of the freedom of speech and reduction of the political responsibility of the newspaper editors, or absolving them from such a responsibility are the urgent needs of the moment.

As for the steps to be taken in the reform, we are by no means opposed to the idea of a limited reform within the old framework. In other words, we do not oppose any kind of reform even though it may be based on the official power concept. Any reform, even a very minor one, is better than no reform at all. However, we feel that unless the entire political structure is basically overhauled so that party rule will be replaced by democracy, there can be no way to solve such problems as die-hard bureaucratism, red tape, surplus personnel, mutual haggling and shifting of responsibility, abusing power for private gain, bribery and black-mailing, spending the state's money lavishly on personal enjoyment, and even forming cliques of female relatives or sworn followers, all under a political structure of over-centralized power.

BEIJING PRESS REFORM SYMPOSIUM, COMMENTS

Zhang Fengzhi Article

Beijing ZHONGGUO BAOKAN BAO in Chinese 6 Aug 86 p 1

[Article by Zhang Fengzhi [1728 5358 0037] "Press Propaganda Should also Have a Relaxed and Harmonious Environment, as Pointed out in Symposium of Beijing Press Units"]

[Text] "Premier Zhao has mentioned the need for a relaxed and harmonious atmosphere for economic reform. Is this atmosphere also needed for press propaganda? I hope everyone will air his views with an open mind." These were the opening remarks made by Yang Zicai [2254 1311 2088], secretary of All-China Federation of Journalists, on the morning of 29 July at a symposium of some press units in Beijing.

Tao Kai [7118 6963], chief of GUANGMING RIBAO's commentary section, was the first to speak. He said: Newspapers are the mouthpiece of the party and the people. For them to function efficiently as "mouthpiece," their minds must be free from lingering fears of "taking class struggle as the key link" and "blazing the trail with mass repudiation." There must be a relaxed and harmonious political atmosphere and an environment to "let a hundred schools of thought contend." Sun Zhibo [1327 1807 2672], deputy chief editor of JIEFANGJUN BAO's political work section, said: Relaxation should start with the leading organs. At present, the upper levels have very strict rules for some articles, and it is especially difficult for those reflecting the seamy side to be published. If we do publish them, we must turn the negative aspect into a positive one. Some comments from the people are correct, and certain explorations in the reform are also significant. The press should carry them. Chen Da [7115 6671], chief of BEIJING RIBAO's science and education section, said: If relaxation and harmony are desired, the leading organs must not interfere too much with the press. If the higher authorities will give us a free hand, the editorial departments will certainly exercise greater caution. The control must be "externally relaxed and internally tight" in order to avoid trouble in news reporting. Zheng Xiuman [6774 4423 3341], deputy chief of NONGMIN RIBAO's political and cultural section, said: Our "bosses" are fairly enlightened, but we must not set up too many "restrictions." We cannot run a newspaper in a lively way if we live in constant fear. Huang Huachang [7806 5478 2490], deputy chief of BEIJING RIBAO's theoretical section, said: Relaxation does not mean laxity, and harmony does not mean unconditional agreement. Now some people would express dissatisfaction at the very mention

of relaxation and harmony because of the element of criticism involved. This is a one-sided view. Some critical articles appeared in the press not long ago. The language used was too strong and smacked of a "mass criticism." This practice should be avoided in the future.

Wang Furu [3769 4395 1172], deputy director of Propaganda Department Press Bureau said: The terms relaxation and harmony were used as a contrast to certain "leftist" methods of the past. This point should be carefully noted. To create a relaxed and harmonious situation, the leading organs should study some way of scientific control so that there would be more "decisionmaking power" for the press. The control must not be too rigid. The press should also carefully learn how to translate the spirit of relaxation and harmony into practice, and adapt itself to the change gradually. Experience is still lacking in this respect, and I hope some bold explorations will be undertaken.

Commentator on Newspapers Reform

Beijing XINWEN ZHANXIAN [NEWS FRONT] in Chinese No 8, 1986 pp 2-4

[Commentator's article: "Newspapers Should Also Be Reformed"]

[Excerpts] "Today, when a new situation is being created in all fields of socialist modernization, the reform, like an avalanche, is sweeping across the land including the economic, political and cultural fields. Newspapers, as a social medium to collect information from various quarters and to report on the achievements of the age, are feeling the impact from this irresistible avalanche even more closely. To meet the situation of an all-around reform, our newspapers must consider themselves part of the comprehensive and dynamic system engineering in all fields of the society in the entire reform program. While publicizing the reform, newspapers themselves should also undergo due reform." This passage is quoted from an open letter to readers of RENMIN RIBAO's editorial department on 2 July, the occasion of its 30th anniversary. Entitled "Our Wishes," this letter was intended to express the wishes of RENMIN RIBAO's editorial department. These wishes are probably also those of all newspaper workers as well as the broad masses of readers throughout the country. In a fast-changing world where something new occurs everyday, can any newspaper afford not to have a reform? Is there any reader who does not hope for a press reform so that he can read their newspapers with ever increasing interest?

The revised edition of RENMIN RIBAO first appeared in 1956 when the CPC had already become the party in power throughout China; when the socialist transformation of the means of production for all people in the country had been basically completed under party leadership; and when all the work of the party and the state was focussed on economic construction.

Today, when we look at the revised edition of RENMIN RIBAO published in the second half of 1956, we can still see its new vitality, rich contents, and vivid layout. It fairly effectively publicized the party's general and specific policies and embodied the prosperity and vigor of the state in the political and economic fields. Unfortunately, these conditions did not last long. Because of erroneous guiding thoughts, newspaper work has for a very long time deviated from the correct guidelines.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," the task of setting things right marked the turning point for the party and helped it return to its correct path. The discussions on "practice as the sole criterion for testing truth," in particular, turned the party's newspaper into a powerful tool which once again won the people's confidence.

However, this does not mean that there are no more problems in newspaper work. As the party's mouthpiece, newspapers have the defects of being behind the times and lacking in vitality, accuracy and penetrating insights in spreading the party's voice and explaining the party's policies. There is still immense room for improvement particularly in coordinating the realities of the reform with the realities of the readers' way of thinking, when the party's general and specific policies are explained. Whenever we open a newspaper, we can always found a great deal of insipid stock phrases, major and minor concepts, and commentaries or news reports with no dynamic material or dynamic language used. These articles are intended to disseminate the party's policies, but their results are very poor. If they claim to be mouthpieces, then they can only produce poor voice. In reporting on people's feelings or outcries, especially in the expression of critical views, the newspapers are sometimes hot and sometimes cold, but never make much sustained effort. It is hard to find in newspapers any article of a critical nature. Even though such articles can be found on rare occasions, the issues involved are too minor and insignificant to produce any enlightening effect. In the transmission of information, what the newspapers offer to their readers in the present fast-changing world is far from adequate for their work or their reading interest. There have also been many instances of wrong information being transmitted, or information losing its effects because of delay in transmission. Other problems, such as the form, language and layout of news reports news commentaries being out-dated, stereotyped, and devoid of freshness (although some newspapers are slightly better in these respects), have been discussed in newspaper circles and the society for a long time.

Newspapers are the product of the age, and their vitality should grow along with the march of time. In a certain sense, newspapers should be ahead of the age in order to lead it on its march. If they remain conservative, refuse to accept innovation and to explore new problems, and choose to stay away from the reform, they will not be able to reflect the situation of the reform and to guide its development, and will eventually be washed out by its torrents. It is precisely for this reason that many newspapers are now considering the problems of press reform, and some of these problems have already been brought to light in newspapers. This is a gratifying phenomenon for the press.

Press reform, like the economic structural reform, is a self-improvement process. Instead of changing the characteristics and functions of the party's press, the reform will enable it to embody and develop these characteristics and functions more effectively. In his speech "Concerning the Work of the Party's Press," Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "The party's press is the party's mouthpiece, which is naturally the mouthpiece of the people's government under party leadership, and also the mouthpiece of the people themselves." He added: "In order that the party's press can play its full role as the party's mouthpiece, it must be able to acquaint the lower levels with the situation at the higher levels, and vice versa, to strengthen the relationship between the

party and the people, to reflect the people's outcries, and to provide information to the people in various respects." Comrade Hu Yaobang's conclusion is a comprehensive summation of the historical experiences of the party's press (including the three documents, reprinted in the current issue of this journal, concerning the work of the party's press) as well as the guideline for the current press reform. There are now numerous newspapers dealing with, for example, the party's official news, the professional news, the daily news and the evening news in the form of regular newspapers or tabloids and catering to different readerships. Therefore, it is certainly impossible for them all to be reformed in the same way. However, as long as they have the desire and a clear understanding of the direction of reform, it is beyond doubt that China's press will undergo a new development.

Hong Kong Paper on 'Flexible Control'

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 11 Sep 86 p 5

[Article: "More Flexible Control Expected after Sixth Plenum; Drafting of Press Law Proceeding in Earnest"]

[Text] Press reform has become a hot topic in the mainland recently.

At the "Symposium of Chief Editors of all Provincial Newspapers" held in the last 10 days of August, someone pointed out that the coverage of meetings by the mainland press was excessive, and all the participants shared his view.

At the same time, GONGREN RIBAO carried a signed article calling on all newspapers to discard the dogma of "a uniform way to guide public opinion." Later, RENMIN RIBAO also published a series of articles suggesting that newspapers should not only encourage people to express what is in the bottom of their hearts, but also allot more space for such expressions. Vice Premier Wan Li [5502 6849] also stated: "We should encourage the free airing of views, do away with the taboos, and translate what the constitution says about freedom of speech into a reality." All these incidences indicate the new trend of the mainland press.

For a long time, Communist China has consistently regarded the press as a "tool of class struggle" and the "party's mouthpiece," and all newspapers in the country can only follow the set tune. During the cultural revolution, "it was the vogue for tabloids to copy from regular newspapers, and for regular newspapers to copy from Liang Xiao [2755 2400] (name of a writing group in the cultural revolution)." Therefore, people could find little variation from the newspapers they read or from the broadcasting they hear. Public opinion was like a stagnant pool completely devoid of vitality.

Following the open-door policy in recent years, newspapers and broadcasting began to show signs of improvement. Criticism of cadres and exposure of the seamy side in the press have gradually increased.

According to recent rumors, after the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, to be held later this month, a more flexible policy will be

adopted for newspapers. As we understand, the drafting of a press law is now being undertaken in earnest by Hu Jiwei [5170 4921 0251], a well-known journalist in Communist China. We can see that press reform in Mainland China now is only in line with the current trend. However, since the poison from the traditional and undemocratic concept of "a uniform way to guide public opinion" is still serious, it would be no wonder to find obstacles on the road of press reform.

Skeptical View From Hong Kong

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 107, Sep 86 pp 36-37

[Article by Leng Dong [0397 2639]: "How Can the Party's Voice Be Relaxed and Harmonious"]

[Text] As reported by ZHONGGUO BAOKAN BAO of Beijing on 6 August, some press units of Beijing have held a symposium to discuss this theme: Press propaganda should have a relaxed and harmonious environment. Wang Furu [3769 4395 1172], deputy director of the Propaganda Department Press Bureau, attended and spoke at the symposium.

All Central Committee Mouthpieces Remaining Apathetic

Some people have commented that this symposium was the signal of a Chinese press reform. While basically in agreement with this comment, the writer of this article must point out that this signal is too weak to serve as any inspiration. The following two points deserve attention:

First, neither XINHUA SHE nor ZHONGXIN SHE reported on this symposium. Why? The only explanation is that the news was banned at the direction of the central committee. It is not hard to discover how unrelaxed and unharmonious is the environment for propaganda by XINHUA SHE and ZHONGXIN SHE.

Among the press units in Beijing, GUANGMING RIBAO, JIEFANGJUN BAO, NONGMIN BAO, and BEIJING RIBAO attended the symposium, but RENMIN RIBAO, the mouthpiece of the party central committee, did not. Why? Can it be true that its work environment is already so relaxed and harmonious that no reform is necessary? If such is the case, it should still attend and introduce its experiences to the symposium. Therefore, there can be no plausible explanation except that as the central committee's mouthpiece, it cannot hold "ordinary views" and must march in step with the central committee.

From this, we can see that XINHUA SHE, ZHONGXIN SHE, and RENMIN RIBAO, all being high-ranking official mouthpieces, were united in remaining apathetic toward the symposium which demanded a relaxed and harmonious environment for newspaper work. This apathetic attitude undoubtedly reflected on the CPC Central Committee's attitude toward the press reform.

GONGREN RIBAO's Opposition to the Uniform Way of Guiding Public Opinion

From the basic views expressed in the symposium by some of the participants, we still cannot see much other than the shopworn "theory of mouthpiece."

Let us take Tao Kai [7118 6963], chief of GUANGMING RIBAO's commentary section, as an example. Despite his claim that people cannot have lingering fears of the implications of "taking class struggle as the key link" and "blazing a trail with mass repudiation," and his desire for an environment of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend," he lay even greater stress on the "function of newspapers as the mouthpiece of the party and the people," and the need for "efficiency in the exercise of this function." Although the other participants agreed that "there should not be too much interference in newspapers from the leading organs," "newspapers as the mouthpiece of the party and the people" was still considered by them as a prerequisite. Since it is admitted that "newspapers serve as the mouthpiece of the party and the people," and primarily the mouthpiece of the party, then the voice out of this mouthpiece should be the party's voice. Since the party's voice cannot go against its wish, the party must strictly control its mouthpiece to prevent it from sounding any discordant notes. Therefore, the excessive interference to newspapers from the leading organs precisely reflects the party's wish--the same tune for all.

On 8 August, after the press symposium in Beijing, GONGREN RIBAO, mouthpiece of All-China Federation of Trade Unions, carried an article saying that "Newspapers and journals should take the lead in creating a relaxed and harmonious environment and discard the 'uniform way of guiding public opinion.'" This viewpoint is far more forward than any expressed in the symposium. The article continued: "Social life is complex and noisy. It is thus imperative that newspapers should not all follow the same tune, because not every viewpoint of every article can represent that of the party central committee or even the editorial department. There should not be any 'uniform way of guiding public opinion.'" The article further added: "Newspapers and journals are the media of debates as well as criticism. However, criticism should be fully based on reasoning and be well-intentioned. It should also include discussion, choice or elimination, extracting the essence, discarding the dross, affirming the merits, and pointing out the shortcomings. Everyone should be equal before criticism. We must refrain from 'using the big stick,' 'sticking on labels' and 'seizing on others' faults.' We must also prevent the 'final reckoning' and 'affixing tags,' and particularly oppose 'checking on personal backgrounds.' You have the right of criticism, and I also have the right of counter-criticism."

With extraordinary courage, the author of that article countered the hackneyed traditional viewpoint of the party that "newspapers and journals serve as the party's mouthpiece" with the argument that "newspapers and journals are the media of debates." This was quite a bold challenge.

"Decisionmaking Power" of Newspapers and Journals Bestowed as a Favor

Deputy Director Wang of the central committee press bureau said at the symposium: "As for creating a relaxed and harmonious situation, the leading organs should study some scientific way to control newspapers and journals so that the newspapers and journals may have greater 'decisionmaking power.'" Please note that the decisionmaking power mentioned by Deputy Director Wang was in quotes. In other words, it is "scientifically" bestowed, but not

legally stipulated, so that as soon as the leading organs see no need to bestow this favor, the decisionmaking power can be revoked any time. Two years [as published] ago, as a result of the favor from the leading organs, the tabloids much welcomed by the people sprang up like bamboo-shoots after a rain. Later on, when the leading organs discovered that these tabloids had won over the readers of the party's mouthpieces, large and small, an order was given to rescind this favor, and the tabloids were all banned. There was also the time when even the party's mouthpieces blatantly exposed the seamy side of the mainland. However, after Hu Yaobang's speech "On the Party's Newspaper Work" in which he said that "generally, 80 percent of the contents should be about achievements, brightness, and praises, leaving 20 percent for shortcomings, darkness and criticism," all the mouthpieces joined in praising the party's glory which occupied not only 80 percent, but more than 90 percent of the newspaper space.

At this point, a thought suddenly came to mind: the proposal of Hu Jiwei, former chief editor of RENMIN RIBAO, for the drafting of press law in 1983. Now that 1 year and 7 months have elapsed, nothing further has been heard of the draft. This is easy to understand. Since newspapers serve as the party's mouthpiece, how can the party's voice be controlled by law? However, when there is no law, and only the party's order counts, wouldn't the relaxed and harmonious environment for newspapers be merely empty talk?

'Bird-Cage' Type Freedom

Hong Kong PAI HSING [THE PEOPLE] in Chinese No 127, 1 Sep 86 pp 54-55

[Article by Zheng Jingming [6774 6975 2494], graduate student of department of journalism, Chinese University: "Press Freedom of a Bird-cage Type"]

[Text] Publicity Offensive of the Press

For more than half a month, there has been a spate of news about the vehement demand for press reform by the newspapers and journals in Communist China. This extraordinary phenomenon deserves an in-depth study.

Since the publication of the speech of Hu Yaobang, General Secretary of CPC Central Committee, "On the Party's Newspaper Work," which attracted great attention at home and abroad, the basic line has been laid down, and the policy of 80 percent brightness and 20 percent darkness in news reporting and party leadership must be upheld according to the central committee's policy decisions. Does the present publicity offensive for reform mean that Hu Yaobang's policy theory is now out-dated? What is the target at which the spearhead is pointing in this offensive? Will there be a major reform for the press in Communist China? These questions are receiving the close attention of those who are concerned with personnel changes and press theories in Communist China, and with the continuance of press freedom in Hong Kong after 1997.

If we will pay just a little attention to the work style constantly used in Communist China, it will not be difficult to discover that whenever any important change in policy, line or principle is about to take place, a publicity offensive would usually be organized to prepare people's minds for subsequent explanations and education. Then after due deliberation, the change will be publicized. Such a work style has been only too familiar to

people ever since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. In the past, publicity offensives were usually guided by the higher authorities; the Central Committee must first formulate the policy and later relay it to the lower levels through the press for implementation. This time, did the call for press reform originate from the upper levels as before, or is it the outcome of some purely spontaneous action on the part of the press? A preliminary study shows that the former is evidently the case.

The Essence of Demand for Reform

Let us first untangle the threads leading to the outcries for reform.

At the end of July this year, some prominent press units of Communist China held a press symposium in Beijing, and the proceedings were published in ZHONGGUO BAOKAN BAO. This "newspaper of newspapers" is not for public circulation, and outsiders have practically no way of knowing the details about this symposium.

Nevertheless, we have been able to piece together some bits of information from other media in Communist China. KUNMING RIBAO, for example, believed that "class struggle" and "the movement to clear away ideological contamination," if over-stressed, would handicap news reporting. JIEFANG RIBAO [as published] and BEIJING RIBAO expressed the view that press reform should start with the leading strata, meaning that the leadership of press units should reduce their intervention, while NONGMIN RIBAO opposed the excessive restrictions for correspondents.

Next, ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE of Communist China reported on the repercussions from some newspapers. For example, GONGREN RIBAO called for abolition of the "uniform way to guide public opinion," and the usual work style of "using the big stick" and "seizing on others' faults, and for the prevention of "final reckoning," "affixing labels," and, above all, "checking on people's background." A RENMIN RIBAO article held that the concepts of reading newspapers and publishing newspapers should be changed simultaneously, that dissenting views of people on social issues should be publicized, that more public forums should be set up, and that permitting only one voice to be heard would be improper. The English language CHINA DAILY revealed that some scholars demanded more flexible leadership over the press and permission for other parties to publish their own periodicals.

Later, from 9 to 15 August, the Central Committee propaganda department again held a symposium of the chief editors of all provincial newspapers in Harbin of northeastern China. Teng Teng [3326 3326], deputy director of the Propaganda Department said at the meeting: The press reform should proceed through explorations in order to make the party media readable, trustworthy, and beloved as the readers' bosom friend. Then more than 30 chief editors expressed dissatisfaction with their own newspapers and placed their hope for improvement in the press reform. They believed that "reform of the press should begin with freedom of the press."

In short, the main substance of the reform demanded by the press is as follows: more flexible guidance from the party, the right of editors to publish any news, the freedom of news coverage by correspondents, and the right of civilians to publish newspapers. In the final analysis, they wanted the CPC to "loosen the bonds" and to let newspapers operate more independently.

This liberalization in press reform has evidently been encouraged by the Propaganda Department. In other words, it is the same kind of publicity offensive originating at the higher levels, with the spearhead, in appearance, pointing "directly" at the press policy "graced" by Hu Yaobang.

Using Your Spear To Jab at Your Shield

In his speech "On the Party's Newspaper Work," Hu Yaobang unequivocally stated: "The party's press is the party's mouthpiece," and "on the whole, it functions under the unified leadership of the Central Committee and in accordance with the party's line, principles and policies." "Regardless of the way the reform will be conducted, it must not in the slightest degree alter the character of the party's press or the relationship between the press and the party." "The political orientation and basic policies of the party Central Committee and the State Council represent the people's interests. On these basic issues, it is inevitable and natural that everyone's voice is the same, whereas the arbitrary airing of 'dissident' views would be unnatural." He further set the rules for news reporting: "Generally, 80 percent about achievements, brightness, and praises and 20 percent about shortcomings, darkness and criticism."

The irony is that before Hu Yaobang made this speech, Hu Jiwei [5170 4921 0251], then "vice chairman of the Education, Science, Culture, and Public Health Committee of the NPC," held a symposium of the leaders of many Hong Kong newspapers in Shenzhen, and listened to their views on the drafting of "China's Press Law." The chilling wind whipped up by Hu Yaobang on the restriction of press freedom gave Hong Kong people the worry that the forthcoming "China's Press Law" may mean, after all, only a change in label without any change in content. What safeguard will there be for freedom of the press in Hong Kong after 1997?

However, Hu Yaobang's speech is said to be the handiwork of Hu Qiaomu [5170 0829 2606], the person in charge of ideological work in the Politburo of CPC Central Committee, intended to oppose the so-called bourgeois liberalization, while Hu Yaobang made this speech as a gesture to appease the "conservatives" for the sake of party unity. Now that the appeasement is over, will Hu Yaobang repudiate his own press policy and turn around to launch this publicity offensive against the "conservatives"? Incidentally, many leading figures of Zhongnanhai were spending their time at the summer resort Beidaihe in the past several months. Does this mean that some important personnel changes in the party were being planned? Would the "conservatives" headed by Hu Qiaomu make their silent exit? Furthermore, will the publication of "China's Press Law," which Hu Jiwei has been drafting for a long time, be timed to collaborate with the coming change in the political power structure?

Mao Zedong's "Vaccination"

In fact, as long as the four principles are upheld in Communist China, the hope for any press freedom of the Western type would be unrealistic. Therefore, the "loosening of bonds" they are fighting for in news reporting may possibly be "press freedom of the bird-cage type." To all communist parties in the world, the tools of publicity are as important as guns.

There are now more than 1,700 newspapers in Communist China, and most of them are run by CPC organs. Only three of them are run by democratic parties, all without any shade of civilian independence. Under the policy of party monopoly, as we believe, the press reform can hardly be of real significance. The most we can expect is probably a change from the 8-2 to an 7-3 ratio.

Way back in 1957, Mao Zedong published an article entitled, "Reading 'Reference News' Means Receiving Vaccination." He believed that increasing the circulation of "Reference News" and publishing "Reactionary Statements" is like laying down some poisonous weeds before the people and the democratic leaders for their tempering. "Don't block off these statements, or they would become dangerous." Therefore, Hu Yaobang may justify his own action by claiming that shelving his speech "On the Party's Press Work" for the time being may have the effects of vaccination to strengthen the newspapers' immunity.

From the newspapers' demand for press freedom in Communist China, it may be worthwhile for us to watch the answers to these two questions:

1. Will there be some important top-level personnel changes in Communist China in the next few months?

2. Will "China's Press Law" be published soon, and, if so, what effects will it have on Hong Kong's freedom of press after 1997?

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ZHAO ZIYANG'S MIDDLE SCHOOL EXPERIENCES RELATED

[Editorial Report] An article in Wuhan CHANGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 28 October 1986, page 4, discusses Premier Zhao Ziyang's middle school experience in Wuhan. Prior to his joining the communist guerrillas following the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, Zhao spent a year in Wuhan as a senior middle school student. A good student since his junior middle school years in Kaifeng, Zhao preferred social sciences to mathematics and natural science. Fellow students described him as deligent in study, keen in his observations and eloquent in debates. Zhao disliked personal disputes among his peers, often reminding them that China's resistance to Japanese aggression should outweigh all other concerns. While studying at Wuhan, Zhao expressed his opposition to military training imposed by the Kuomintang, for which he was confined to his dormitory. Unyielding in his attitude during the confinement, he killed time by writing poems. Zhao led a simple, spartan life while a student, as he rarely patronized restaurants, dressed modestly, and studied diligently even on Sundays.

CSO: 4005/181

CPC STRENGTHENS UNITED FRONT WORK

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 27 Sep 86 p 5

[Article by Geng Jun [5105 6874]: "CPC To Strengthen United Front Work and Expand the Target of Unity; According to the Inside Information of the Sixth Plenum of the 12th CPC Central Committee"]

[Text] Several high-class hotels in Beijing have already begun to receive members of the CPC Central Committee who came from all over the country to attend the coming 6th Plenum of the 12th CPC Central Committee.

According to the decision of the 5th Plenum of the 12th CPC Central Committee held in 1985, the main item on the agenda of the 6th plenum will be on ideological progress. In the past 6 months or so, ideological liberation, an increasingly heavy atmosphere of democracy, and respect for intellectuals were considered as the results of ideological progress whereas existing problems of party work style, unhealthy social practices, and the corruption of cadres were attributed to the lack of attention to ideology. Because of this, the task of ideological progress set forth several years ago has now become the main item on the agenda of the sixth plenum.

According to the inside information supplied by reliable sources, the CPC will set forth, at the sixth plenum, a "common ideal," which has a broader meaning compared with the previous one, urging all Chinese regardless of party affiliation to unite as long as they can contribute to the prosperity of the country and the people. The criterion for judging achievements and errors will be simplified just to see whether one's action is conducive to the prosperity of the country and the people, the stability, and unity. This is a new formulation for strengthening the united front work.

The 6th Plenum of the 12th CPC Central Committee will show the determination of the CPC to carry out the reforms of economic and political structures and promote ideological progress in accordance with the the general goal of economic construction.

The CPC Central Committee has now defined ideological progress as ideological and cultural progress. Its functions will be gradually expanded. In other words, material progress should create material conditions for ideological progress whereas ideological progress should provide ideological and

intellectual support for material progress and provide effective ideological guarantees for its correct development.

The draft of the "Resolution on the guiding principles of ideological progress" was discussed and adopted in principle by the political bureau of the CPC Central Committee at an August meeting. This document containing 10,000 words was distributed to the members of party committees and groups of all departments under the CPC Central Committee and the State Council, provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, as well as non-party democratic personages to solicit opinions.

It is reported that the reform of the political structure expected by the people will not be included in the discussions of the 6th Plenum of the 12th CPC Central Committee and that small personnel changes may occur but nothing surprising.

Not long ago, the higher levels of the CPC revealed that major personnel changes will occur in the plenum of the 13th CPC Central Committee to be held next year. Whether this plenum will have several standing committee members of the political bureau speak at the plenum like they did at previous meetings, and whether they will give a little hint for next year's large shuffle will be the focus of attention.

12302
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ECONOMIC CORRUPTION RAMPANT, EVOKES STERN MEASURES

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 1 Aug 86 p 19

[Article by Burkhard Kieker: "Infected With the Virus of Corruption--Constant Increase in the Number of Economic Crimes Since the Opening to Capitalism"]

[Text] The business of Mr Wang Yemin was going splendidly. Whenever Japanese color television sets--imported by Deng Xiaoping's economic reformers with valuable foreign exchange--were again sold out everywhere in Beijing, Mr Wang knew what to do. The resourceful businessman entered into his contracts with the buying agents of the state department stores with roasted duck and Mongolian fire pot in Beijing's elegant restaurants. Sometimes the contracts were for 2,000 televisions, sometimes for 10,000. Mr Wang also hinted where he got the desired sets: he has "guanxi," good connections with the top, a magic word in China. He promised to deliver more than 60,000 Japanese color sets.

After his account had received down payments equal to DM2.4 million, Mr Wang decided that from then on he would "deal in grain" as well. And he had a lucky hand there too. Furnished with a state export license, he promised Chinese farmers that he would sell 500,000 tons of grain abroad. He again received a commission of DM1 million. But then the Beijing police ended the steak of luck of the agile businessman.

The commercial house of Mr Wang was essentially composed of an expensive calling card and a mailbox address as in the proven Liechtenstein model. Only the export license was real: state officials had issued it in exchange for a sizeable bribe.

Like a Prairie Fire

A certain Mr Guo Guangsen from Harbin in the north of China likewise knew how to utilize the new reform zeal of the People's Republic. As the head of a state depot for building material, he manipulated the books a little and thus was easily able to prove tremendous losses. Guo was then allowed to reorganize the inefficient state enterprise, indeed as a private citizen. Because building materials are scarce and can be sold at horrendous prices, it was mainly Mr Guo who was soon restored. When the whole thing fell apart, it

was, along with the business manager, 10 key officials of the Harbin city administration who went to prison. They had covered up the dealings in exchange for cash and natural produce.

The three managers of a large pharmacy in south China who illegally sold hartshorn extract and ginseng roots to a Hong Kong Chinese were relatively small fish. Their reward: a refrigerator, a television set, and a bicycle, respectively.

Since Deng Xiaoping sent the People's Republic of China on a new "long march" toward becoming an industrial nation with his formula of "a little bit of market and a little bit of capitalism," bribery, embezzlement and profiteering have spread in the country like a prarie fire. Meanwhile, corruption and the misuse of power have affected all areas of the heretofore so prude society, including administration, industry and even the military. Foreign visitors who--armed with a good deal of sympathy for Chinese socialism--were once fond of speaking of China as the most honest country in the world are now shocked when the taxi driver tries to cheat them on the way from the airport to their hotel.

Endangered Innocence

"Communist China is about to lose its innocence," complains a Beijing intellectual, "many of my countrymen are forgetting dignity and modesty and now think only about money." Indeed, China's flirt with capitalism has brought the country a wave of materialism and a frenzy of consumption after decades of bitter poverty. The "four great modernizations" (agriculture, industry, science and the military) ordered by the leadership in Beijing have long since been replaced in the vernacular with "refrigerator, washing machine, color television, and video recorder." And more and more Chinese have the money for these acquisitions. It is the small economic freedoms that for the first time give the huge population the chance to achieve some modest prosperity.

Those who with diligence and good ideas have already achieved something, as in the case of the renowned 10,000-yuan peasants or the clever bicycle repairman at the side of the road, are being extolled by the press as the model people of Deng's society based on performance.

But whereas retailers and craftsmen have now become the new elite in income, officials and party cadres must largely forego the blessings of the reforms. They are not allowed to have businesses. Many cannot resist the temptation to use at least their power for financial gain. The 28,000 so-called enterprise societies have proven to be an especially lucrative living. They were established in 1984 as independent enterprises in the course of the urban reforms to curtail the all-encompassing state activities--in construction, for example--the motto being: flexibility instead of bureaucracy.

In this way, the administrative officials who have come up short heretofore were able to take a big slice out of the reform pie. And because many of them, in addition to their agency jobs, made themselves managers of the new enterprises, they were able to place orders with themselves and negotiate

prices. In addition to their official pay and their managers' salary, they were able to collect even more, for it was possible to set aside a nice little commission for the orders given themselves. Ma Xueliang, head of the Beijing city works, is said to have "skimmed off" more than 1.5 million yuan (DM1.2 million) in this way prior to his arrest, not even counting the regular delicatessen deliveries from his submanagers, who were supposed to keep him in a good mood. Meanwhile, on orders from Beijing, 10,000 of these "gold mines" had to close.

Because China, with its opening to the West and the reforms, is in completely unchartered territory, precisely the economy has become an El Dorado for people whom the West calls "white-collar" delinquents. There are plenty of opportunties for foreign-exchange offenses or embezzlement in the still-raw mixed system of socialism and capitalism. The administration and justicial system are often helpless in the face of crimes that have heretofore been known only in Western gangster films. In the first 9 months of last year alone, 20,000 economic crimes were uncovered. The Chinese auditing office reported losses of 9 billion yuan (DM7 billion).

But that is not all: besides the financial bloodletting (generally at the expense of the stocks of foreign exchange), ideological harm is also threatening. Party cadres in particular are susceptible to the virus of corruption, according to the results of an investigatory commission. Some 67,000 party members, seen by the communists as the vanguard of the revolution and a model for the working class, have been caught in crooked dealings so far.

Red Graft

Especially devastating for the people is the impression that the comrades are covering themselves through a kind of giant red network of connections. If the delinquents are children, relatives or friends of high-level cadres, they usually disappear elegantly from the public line of fire. The trial then bogs down or is not even initiated. The Chinese call this "opening the umbrella."

Apart from big scandals, the corruption has already eaten through to the lower levels. So-called "ticket sharks," who used "guanxi" to buy up large blocks of always-scarce movie or train tickets to resell them at inflated prices, provoked the wrath of the people last year.

All of this did not seem to concern top Chinese politician Deng Xiaoping, who directs reform policy from behind the scenes with no representive offices. In 1984, he calmly characterized the corruption as an inevitable "dislocation on the fringe of modernization." At the latest when local party bosses on the tropical Chinese island of Hainan illegally ordered 89,000 automobiles and complete television factories for just under $2 billion in Japan, it became clear to the Beijing leadership as well that the corruption and mismanagement in the country can no longer be treated as a trifling matter.

"The price of the reforms is too high," dissatisfied students wrote in September 1985 in their wall newspapers. Critical questions about the "evil winds from the West" were mixed in with the protests of that time against the

flooding of China with Japanese products. And in the meetings of the street committees, it was mainly the older generation that was complaining: they first fought the corrupt Kuomintang regime of Chiang Kai-shek before 1949 and now things will soon be back the way they were.

A final clear alarm signal for Deng and his reform team was the special congress of the Communist Party in September of last year. There, for the first time, the declared opponents of reform dared to come out of hiding. Chen Yun, the aged head of the party's central disciplinary committee and probably Deng's most powerful opponent in the Politburo, railed before the assembled party congress against the infiltration of "decadent capitalist ideology" into China and criticized the corruption of the cadres, who "have lost sight of the great ideal of communism and the good of the people."

He implored the delegates not to sacrifice the "intellectual civilization of socialism" to the reforms. The delegates applauded enthusiastically. Besides the conflagration of corruption, it was above all the bad news about the disappearing reserves of foreign exchange and the double-digit inflation--concealed only with difficulty--that forced Deng's reform team into the defensive.

It was then necessary to take action. A large-scale campaign against corruption began at the beginning of November. Since then, newspapers and the radio have been reporting notably frequently on abuses and at the beginning the Chinese were able to inform themselves daily on arrests and the Draconian punishment of those profiteering from the reforms. And the "ticket sharks" ran into trouble as well. On 2 December, on the personal orders of party chief Hu Yaobang, they were "fished off" the 180 largest railroad stations in the country.

When 8,000 party veterans met at the beginning of the year in Beijing's Great Hall of the People, Premier Zhao Ziyang gave an accounting of the party's work style. He denounced

--unnecessary foreign trips and goodwill visits at state expense,

--immoderate banquets for insignificant reasons,

--the illegal extra earnings of the cadres in industry,

--the illegal importation of automobiles and the protection of friends to secure advantages for them.

Central Committee Secretary Hu Qili was even more straightforward, saying that everyone was equal before the law in China and that vigorous and uncompromising action would now be taken even against high cadres: "Whoever must be arrested will be arrested, whoever must be executed will be executed." That was meant seriously. When in Shanghai in February three sons of high cadres appeared in court charged with raping more than 50 women, hardly anyone among the public believed that anything would happen to them. One of the delinquents, Chen Xiaoming, son of the former propaganda chief of the city, had sneered at a victim: "Nothing is going to happen to me anyway." A half

hour after the verdict, Chen and his accomplices met their deaths before the firing squad in the soccer stadium.

Bad Tradition

In the meantime, reflection is mixing in with the lamentations of conservative cadres on the "evil winds" and the imploring of the 1950's (at that time, a climate of solidarity and moral uprightness prevailed after the victory over the hated Kuomintang regime). The distinguished Chinese sociologist Fei Xiaotong considers the often-heard stereotype that everything bad comes from the West to be "too simple." In the magazine, CHINA IM AUFBAU, he points out the long tradition of nepotism and favoritism in China and follows up with an old saying: "Even if a district manager has been known for 3 years to be an incorruptible official, he has already filled his pockets with 100,000 snow-white silver dollars."

According to Fei, these feudal roots are now reappearing because of the favorable circumstances for them. Through feudal thinking and the political confusion of recent decades, many Chinese had an extremely defective legal awareness. It will take a while yet to change the thinking of people.

So it might be feared that other people will have experiences similar to that of the German businessman who had sold some textile machines to a production team near Shanghai. When he arrived to sign the contract after tough negotiations, his Chinese partners had added an insignificant clause: the free delivery of a metallic gold Mercedes 280 SE.

9746
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UNHEALTHY PRACTICES IN HORIZONTAL ECONOMIC TIES REVEALED

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 15 Aug 86 p 2

[Article by staff reporter Zheng Hanjin [6774 3352 3866]: "Guard Against Speculation and Other Illegal Activities in Horizontal Economic Ties"]

[Excerpt] The main expressions of using economic ties to engage in speculation and other illegal activities are: 1) Deliberately violating relevant state laws, regulations and policies to resell major means of production such as automobiles and steel products for profits. The South China office of a certain ministry engaged in joint management with a certain trading company in Wuhan, Hubei Province. In the name of an integrated body, this office purchased 43 automobiles and 1,032 tons of steel products which were under planned distribution and resold them to an industrial company for 450,000 yuan of profits. Later, under the pretense of "joint profits," it gained more profits by collecting an additional of 10,000 yuan from each automobile they sold at state prices. 2) Using economic ties to infringe upon the interests of the other party. In the name of integration, a city cement and machine-building labor service company in Hubei Province and a town of Yangxin County established an "automotive repair plant" with the former providing technology and 50,000 yuan of investment and the latter providing the site and general labor. The plant made very good profits after its opening. But, while the staff of the cement and machine-building plant went home for the Mid-Autumn Festival, the town unilaterally decided to discontinue the integration and went on to divide up 50,000 yuan of profits without permission from the other party. 3) Using economic ties as a swindle to get funds. A business firm of a steel plant in Hubei Province and a township in Daye County of this province jointly established a "steel detector company" with the former providing 150,000 yuan of investment and the latter providing the site. After the business firm remitted 150,000 yuan to this township, the steel detector company was not established, but the money was used by this township and could not be returned. 4) Using economic ties and investment to resell imported goods for profits. A joint venture in a county of Guangdong Province applied for the establishment of a joint venture with a Mr. Chen from a Hong Kong firm and in the name of running a "car rental company," gained the approval of the departments concerned to import from Hong Kong 12 duty-free air-conditioned Toyota vans which were manufactured in Japan. Under the pretense of contracting, this company sold the 12 vehicles to five units at a price ranging from 66,000 yuan to 73,000 yuan for each and received 810,000 yuan in car payments including 634,000 yuan of profits for the Mr. Chen of Hong Kong.

12302
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CADRES' RIGHT TO SEE PERSONAL FILES DISCUSSED

Beijing XIN GUANCHA [NEW OBSERVER] in Chinese No 16, 25 Aug 86 p 4

[Article by Chen Sanle [7115 0005 2867]: "Cadres' Files Should be Open to Cadres"; written in May 1985, revised in June 1986]

[Text] Cadres' files refer mainly to personal cadre records. If cadres violate laws and discipline or currently engage in activities as enemy spies, their cases will be handled by political and judicial departments. Strictly speaking, such cases will not be filed under the category of cadres' personal records. Cadres' files concern the political and professional qualities of cadres, their organizational skills, ideological quality, and creative spirit, etc. In other words, they are cadres' personal historical records. Personal history is written by the individuals themselves. Why are we not allowed to see the history we wrote ourselves? Even a criminal, after his arrest and trial, is given access to the bill of indictment which has detailed contents concerning the facts of his crime and the observance of law. He is also allowed to exercise his right to defense. The result of such a practice can only help the criminal admit his crime and submit to law. At the same time, it can also play a role in deepening education in legal system and preventing perversion. If we can be so open with criminals, why can't we stop being so mysterious about cadres' work? Will we turn the world upside down if we do? Keeping cadres' files from cadres themselves has caused many tragedies (This article has cited many typical cases which are not published due to a limited space--Editor).

As a matter of fact, the hush-hush practice of cadres' work has been gradually eliminated even in the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Eastern Europe such as Hungary, Poland, and Bulgaria. In the employment of cadres, they have long smashed the traditional model which they used for a long time in the past when their cadres were chosen by leaders, examined by organizational and personnel departments, and then approved after discussion by party committees. Today's methods can be summarized generally into three: 1) First, cadres will be recommended by grassroots units. Second, a public hearing will be held to solicit opinions extensively from activists inside and outside the party, immediate supervisers, grassroots personnel, and persons concerned. Third, detailed investigation, evaluation and appraisal of vocational skills will be conducted. When carrying out such work, the masses and the cadres themselves will not be kept in the dark. 2) On the basis of

evaluation and appraisal, cadres are encouraged to compete for their posts. In other words, when electing leaders at all levels and making appointments for certain vocational leading positions, several persons are often selected as reserves for one position in an effort to promote competition. 3) Various methods should be used to understand cadres' situations to avoid subjectivity, one-sidedness, and judging by personal preference. Issues concerning foreign countries shunning secretive practices in the employment and training of cadres have already been introduced by our newspapers and periodicals, but, unfortunately, we have not yet used them as a reference. To sum up, I would like to state some of my opinions on the question of how to open cadres' files to cadres themselves.

1. All historical records of cadres should be sorted out. This is an extremely serious scientific project which must be done in a truth-seeking manner by people with breadth of vision who also have a strong party spirit and fine qualities. Without the spirit of a high degree of responsibility to the party and people, one is reluctant or dares not to take the risk and responsibility to help other people clear up questions and get rid of burdens. Those sheer absurd documents concerning ridiculous frame-ups and cases which had a good reason but where no evidence was found must be all sorted out through individual authentication (those documents which are really worth saving for the purpose of reference, copies may be made). Especially those political documents with big red seals must be sorted to eliminate the false and retain the true.

2. Cadres should be allowed to see their own files. After cadres' historical records are all sorted out, arrangements should be made in a planned manner to let cadres read their own files in the reading rooms of archives. This practice not only can let cadres recall the roads they have taken and see what kind of experience and lesson they should remember from their history but also helps in making good omissions and deficiencies, eliminating the false, and retaining the true.

3. Cadres' evaluation should be carried out openly in a face-to-face manner. For a long time, cadres' evaluation was carried out in a "back-to-back" manner which is considered as an iron discipline and unbreakable model. Practices have proved that it not only is unsuitable for today's new situation but also has many defects. The issue of "face-to-face" openness we are talking about here mainly means that the object of evaluation should be made public to the masses. The masses should be organized in a guided manner to hold discussions and the personages of all fields should be called to symposiums so that they can make face-to-face appraisals, exercise mutual supervision, make fair comments, and avoid undeserved praises and covert animosity. At the same time, they can also investigate the person "face-to-face." This practice can help better understand the whole story and prevent possible misunderstandings resulting from the ignorance of the person and his profession. Moreover, the practice of "face-to-face" evaluation can also solve the problem of false accusations and stop repeating previous tragedies caused by "secret complaints and internal accusations" in a trap to frame innocent people. To solve the problem of false accusation, first, we should perfect the legal system and have those who make false accusation take legal responsibility. Second, we should bring into the open those "small tricks" and "small reports" which are

proved to be false accusations and verify facts in a "face-to-face" manner to clarify rights and wrongs and redeem one's reputation. We must not practice old tricks such as "trial in absentia" and "correcting mistakes if you have made any or guarding against them if you have not" to go through the motion and abet evil by tolerating it.

4. Cadres should sign their own files. From now on, all records put into a cadre's file must be shown to and signed by the cadre himself before they can be filed; otherwise, it should be considered as a violation of law and discipline. This issue should be included in party rules and regulations. Cadres' files contain cadres' matters, cadres should have the right to know their own affairs. No matter what it is, as long as one did it and the conclusion has been drawn in accordance with facts, there is no way he can deny it. This practice not only can teach the cadre a profound lesson on how to learn from each others' strong points to offset one's weaknesses but also can achieve the purpose of "withstanding the test of history" which is a long-term demand by our party.

If we can stop being mysterious about cadres' work and open all cadres' files to cadres themselves, it will be a great boost to the enthusiasm of cadres and a great liberation of talented people. I did not write this article on the spur of the moment. It is the result of years of thinking. I did a great deal of investigation and research on this issue. I also solicited opinions extensively from comrades engaging in cadres' work and in charge of archives for many years. On this issue, many supported my views and shouted "bravo" while others were worried and tried to stop me. They think this is a forbidden zone; therefore, making such an exploration may be a waste of energy. What is worse, it may invite many unpleasant things. After thinking it over, I decided that in order to promote the reform and progress, there should be no fear.

12302
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RENMIN RIBAO ON RENEWAL OF LEGAL THEORIES

HK060605 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Sep 86 p 5

[Article by Yu Haocheng [0002 3185 2052]: "Renewal and Development of Legal Theories--On the Class and Social Character of Laws"]

[Text] In recent years, the legal circles in our country have started warm discussions on the issue of the class and social character of law, or the basic concepts of law. It is a welcome and very gratifying phenomenon. The issue of basic concepts of law, or the essential properties of law, is the most basic issue of legal theories. At present, as our country is in a new historical period of socialist construction, the study and research of this issue is of important realistic significance not only to the upholding and development of Marxist legal theories but also to the strengthening of the building of the legal system in our country.

An Annotation Added by Engels

Forty years after the publishing of "Manifesto of the Communist Party," Engels added an annotation to the sentence, "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles," explaining that what he had said that "the history of all hitherto existing society" "exactly means all written history." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol I. p 251) From this annotation added by Engels, we can derive great inspirations: First, Marx and Engels always revised and replenished their works, in an effort to make them well-knit, perfect and scientifically invulnerable. Second, as we are living in a class society, restricted by conditions and often not seeing the forest for the trees, we consciously or unconsciously tend to regard the class society as all societies. While observing and thinking about issues, a considerable number of comrades often confine themselves to the scope of class society and fail to review the history of social development as a whole. Therefore, when defining laws, they cannot epitomize the legal phenomena in different societies. They insist on the conclusions that the class character is the only essential attribute of laws; if there is no class, there is no law; primitive society did not have laws, nor will the future proletarian society; and so on. The problem is that this outmoded concept has continued basically unchanged since the 1950's (in fact, this concept is copied from the definition of laws given by the Russian Vyshinsky and is a component part of the theory

of "taking class struggle as the key link"), and is far from suiting the needs of the present conditions in our country. It cannot answer such a realistic question: Under the circumstances when our country no longer has an exploiting class and class struggle is no longer the main contradiction in the society, will it still be necessary for us to strengthen the building of the legal system? It cannot give a correct and rational answer in terms of the legal theories, either.

In Addition to the Class Character, Do Laws Have a Social Character in a Class Society?

It should be pointed out, however, that in the discussions so far, we have not yet read an article or listened to a speech negating the strong class character of laws in the class society. In other words, on this issue people have an identical view and do not have any dispute. Nevertheless, the point is: Apart from the class character, do laws also have a social character? Can we say that the class character is the only essential attribute of laws?

It should be noted that just as the state has both a class and social character, laws also have these two characters. The class character of laws refers to laws reflecting the will of a ruling class. Through enacting laws, the ruling class safeguards the interests of its own class, suppresses the resistance of the ruled, and maintains and strengthens its rule. However, apart from the above mentioned role of being tools of class struggle, or having "all kinds of special functions derived from the antithesis between government and the masses" once mentioned by Marx, laws also have common functions, or the roles of public facilities which are indispensable to all societies. This is what we call the social character or the commonness of laws. For example, the laws of all countries throughout history have all contained legal norms regarding the building of water conservancy projects, the cultivation of land at appropriate times, the exploitation of resources, environmental protection, the maintenance of transportation safety and order, and so on. These are the expressions of the social character of laws.

For those comrades who hold that class character is the only essential attribute of laws and that laws only reflect the will of the ruling class and do not recognize the social character of laws, it is very difficult to explain the question that some legal norms are also advantageous to the ruled (for example, the British bill of working 10 hours per day, cited by "Manifesto of the Communist Party"). Therefore, they often try to explain that some people of the ruling class were far-sighted and realized that making some concessions to the ruled might eventually benefit the ruling class themselves. However, if this kind of explanation is interpreted as affirming the class character of laws, it is more appropriate to interpret it as affirming the social character of laws. Therefore, this fact exactly demonstrates that even the ruling class cannot do as they please or disregard the interests of society as a whole. Because the ruling class should also be restricted by the social reality, we can thus see the social character of laws. Engels once said that

"By way of exception, however, periods occur in which the warring classes balance each other so nearly that the state power, as ostensible mediator, acquires, for the moment, a certain degree of independence of both." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 168) This means that as a "mediator," the state regulates the conflict of interests between classes through laws. Of course, in a class society, the class character of laws occupies a primary and dominant position, while the social character maintains a secondary and subordinate position. This is because the ruling class is mostly interested in safeguarding its own class interests, rather than the common interests of the whole society, notwithstanding that they often deceive and benumb the ruled and speak in defense of the legality of their rule under the signboard of representing the common interests of the society as a whole.

Some Laws Do Not Have Class Character

In a class society, class and social character are mutually affected and closely related. As a whole system, the bulk of laws possess a class character. Since laws are the expressions of the will of the ruling class, enacted and accepted by the ruling class through the state apparatus under its control, and the norms of conducts whose implementation is forcibly ensured by the state, it is very difficult to find laws without class character. Just as Engels once pointed out, "Property owners understand that even though some specific clauses of laws are not convenient for them, the legislation as a whole is intended to protect their interests." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 515) Nevertheless, making specific analyses of some individual laws, we should also recognize that as the contents of some laws are mainly concerned with suppressing the resistance of the ruled and using violence to maintain the rule of the ruling class, these laws more directly and ostensibly suit the needs of the ruling class and have a stronger class character. Moreover, as the contents of some laws are mainly concerned with the management of social public affairs which are advantageous to all the members of the society, these laws can more evidently and outstandingly reflect social needs and have a stronger social character and a weaker class character. There are some laws which simply do not have any class character. Apart from the "law of environmental protection," the "law of food hygiene," the "law on the prevention of water pollution," and traffic safety regulations, we can also cite some laws and decrees regarding the protection of forests, the prohibition of intermarriage, the unification of weights and measures, work on fire protection, and so on. Obviously, these laws and decrees do not have any class character at all. Proceeding from concepts rather than facts, some comrades insist that all laws in a class society have a class character. This view is a result of lacking specific analyses of specific things.

Laws Are Not Peculiar to Class Society

Following the founding of our country, the overwhelming view of the legal circles of the country has been that as laws are peculiar to class society, laws and classes always go together, laws are produced after the birth of

classes, and laws will not exist after the elimination of classes. Therefore, only class societies have laws. Primitive society did not have laws, nor will the future proletarian society. While proving that primitive society did not have laws and that laws originate from class societies, people always quote what Engels said in "Origin of Family, Private Property and State:" "And this gentile constitution is wonderful in all its childlike simplicity! Everything runs smoothly without soldiers, gendarmes or police; without nobles, kings, governors, prefects or judges; without prisons; without trials. All quarrels and disputes are settled by the whole body of those concerned--the gens or the bribe or the individual gentes among themselves.... Those concerned decide, and in most cases century-old custom has already regulated everything." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, pp 92-93)

In fact, Engels was here talking about the Iroquois which were right in a matriarchal society in America. Writing "Origin of Family, Private Property and State," Engels accepted Morgan's method of classification. He classified primitive society into matriarchal society and patriarchal society and cited a host of facts to prove that matriarchal society only had "customs" as norms of social conduct, while "legal customs" and "customary laws" were born in the patriarchal society. Therefore, it is a very lopsided approach to characterize all primitive society by the above quotation, because Marx and Engels never tried to prove that primitive society did not have laws. On the contrary, while talking about the origin of laws, Engels once said, "At a very early stage of social development, there was such a need: to epitomize the daily repetitive behaviors of production and product distribution and exchange with a common rule and try to make individuals obey the general conditions of production and exchange. This rule first gave expression to customs, which later on developed into laws. With the birth of laws, there must be an organ of public power responsible for upholding the laws, namely, the state." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, pp 538-539)

Thus, it is groundless to assert that primitive society did not have laws and that laws appeared only after the division of social classes. In fact, the seeds and embryonic forms of laws began to exist as early as the earliest societies, when people first grouped together. These were the customs, or the norms, for organizing social production and regulating relations within clans and among different clans. At the beginning, these customs were not mandatory but consciously observed by the people to safeguard the interests of all the social members. Later on, with the development of production and the increase of wealth, the leaders of clans and tribes had opportunities to use the public rights they possessed to gain more public interests for themselves. These customary norms gradually changed their nature and became mandatory and subsequently law. At the beginning, they were only unwritten customary laws, and the statute laws were enacted only after the founding of states.

Regarding the prospects of laws, for a long period of time some comrades in the theoretical and legal circles of our country have concluded that in light of the Marxist theory of state elimination, laws will die in the communist society. Such a conclusion is, in fact, a result of lacking a

correct and comprehensive understanding of the Marxist theory regarding the elimination of states. Engels once said, "All socialists are agreed that the political state, and with it political authority, will disappear as a result of the coming social revolution, that is, public functions will lose their political character and be transformed into the simple administrative functions of watching over the true interests of society." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 554) Therefore, the elimination of states means the elimination of those parts of the state apparatus which are used to suppress the antagonistic classes, rather than the elimination of the state apparatus as a whole. Those parts of the state apparatus that manage the social economy, culture, and various public affairs will be maintained and never be eliminated. Hence, we can envisage the prospects of law in this way: those laws with the nature of class suppression will be eliminated with the elimination of classes, but those laws with social commonness will be kept forever, and become more and more complete and perfect along with the depth and extensive development of people's economic and cultural life.

The Concept of Laws Should Be Renewed; and the Theory of Laws Should Be Developed

Therefore, we can see that those definitions of laws given by us in textbooks or legal works are already inadequate. At present, it is completely necessary to proceed from actual conditions to scientifically redefine laws in the light of a comprehensive and accurate understanding of the fundamental theories of Marxism. I agree with Comrade Zhang Youyu's proposition that the concepts of laws can be interpreted in a broad sense as well as a narrow sense and Comrade Zhang Zonghou's new definition of laws: "A certain law is the product of a certain material production relation, which is a summation of the norms of conducts enacted and forcibly implemented by the state or social management organs and regulating various social relations of the people." ("Legal Theories Should Be Renewed"--An Interview with Zhang Youyu and Zhang Zonghou, RENMIN RIBAO, 31 March 1986 p 5)

This definition proves that the fundamental attribute of laws depends on its objective social character and is different from the compuslory character of ethics and the standard character of common customs and habits. However, in a class society, some of the social character of laws turn into class character and occupy a primary and dominant position in the system of laws as a whole. After entering into proletarian society, the class character will gradually weaken and eventually disappear altogether, and the social character of laws as well as their compulsory and standard character will be kept forever.

On the issue of the class and social character of laws, over a considerably long period of time in the past, the legal circles in our country lop-sidedly stressed the class character of laws to the neglect of their social character. This has objective social reasons as well as subjective ideological reasons.

In terms of objective social reasons, after succeeding in revolution and gaining political power, both the Soviet Union and our country were once under the conditions of intense class struggle. Therefore, it was inevitable to lay emphasis on strengthening the proletarian dictatorship and suppressing the resistance of the antagonistic classes. This state of affairs seriously affected the building of the legal system and legal ideology.

In terms of the subjective ideological reasons, this was due to the fact that we did not sufficiently propagate dialectical materialism and tended to take a simple, absolute and one-sided approach to things. In particular, we did not pay much attention to the law of negation of the negation. In fact, many events in life can be explained with the law of negation of the negation. We can also explain the birth and development of laws with the law of negation of the negation. As the common social norms, laws at a later stage of primitive society only possessed a social character. In class societies, they began to have a class character, which later took a primary and dominant position in the whole system of laws. In communist society, laws will once again only have the social character. Some comrades maintain that in communist society, laws will no longer be law in its original sense. In fact, this is a way of speaking in comparison with laws of class societies. If it is compared with primitive societies, law in communist societies will just have its original significance restored and be upgraded to a higher stage.

If we just stress the class character of laws to the neglect of the social character of laws, it would be difficult for us to explain the various complex phenomena of reality. (For example, the laws on the management of public affairs in the capitalist countries will constantly increase and become more and more complete and sound; and after the exploiting classes in our countries are basically eliminated, it is still necessary to strengthen the building of legal system). Moreover, it would result in the "leftist" errors of magnifying the class struggles in the actual works and the negative impacts on the theoretical issues of the continuity of laws. If we only recognize the class character but not the social character of laws, we would, of course, only negate the old laws completely and not inherit anything from them at all. In fact, since the old laws always contain something useful, we can choose with discrimination some laws of social character. This is not contradictory to the abolition of the old laws as a whole. Those erroneous "leftist" tendencies of indiscriminately "totally negating" and "thoroughly breaking with" everything in the old society of our country and in the contemporary capitalist world have already produced disastrous effects and should not be followed.

The conclusion is: Our concepts of laws should be renewed and the legal theories should develop along with the development of the actual conditions.

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CSO: 4005/162

KEY TO ADMINISTRATIVE EFFICIENCY DISCUSSED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 2 Sep 86 p 1

[Commentary: "First Delegate Power, Then Simplify Administration"]

[Text] Due to disputes over trifles, irresponsibility or multiple links and barricades, an issue which should be resolved within several days or weeks may be put off for several months or a year. This is a serious common failing in the current work of public organs.

The low efficiency of public organs is the biggest headache of grassroots units. Due to the dilatory work style of public organs, they often miss opportune moments for work, resulting in the waste of manpower and material resources. Some foreigners who deal and run enterprises with us also have quite a few complaints about this. Such a slow pace and low efficiency of work has already become a major obstacle to the reform, the open-door policy, the revitalization, and the development of the commodity economy.

Low efficiency can be attributed, of course, to problems in ideology and work style, but it is basically a problem of management system. Ideological and work style problems will not be solved if problems in the management system remain unsolved. The problems in the management system can be summarized into two points: 1) Overelaborate administration--too many "government offices" and excessive divisions of labor; 2) overcentralization of power. What is the solution to this issue? In the past, the usual answer was to "simplify administration" and "delegate power" and we often tried to do something about the former first and failed to pay attention to the latter. As a matter of fact, overelaborate administration is caused by overcentralization of power. Due to the overcentralization of power, leading organs at all levels are all in charge of many things not under their jurisdiction, thereby complicating many things which are originally simple. Actually, many things are not hard to handle if higher levels set a rule and let lower levels do the work, but once they are submitted to higher levels, they become complicated. Therefore, we should reverse the order of the two tasks. "Delegating power" should be first and "simplifying administration" second. If powers are not really delegated to lower levels, simplifying administration will be nothing more than adopting a few simple merging measures for the organs themselves and going around in circles about formality. The consequence of such a practice often is the simple merger of some organs and the lay off of some people. But, before

long, merged organs will be divided again, staff will be increased, and organs will be expanded. We have carried out organizational reforms many times but we have never been able to get out of the rut that "organs will be merged after they are divided for a long time and divided after they are merged for a long time." Why is it that the more we cut the more organs we have? It is because we only tried to simplify administration and failed to delegate power.

Therefore, the key issue in the reform of the management system, including organizational reform, is delegating power. We should first delegate power and then simplify administration. Delegating power is the basic content of structural reform. Only when power is really delegated can we simplify administration in a practical manner. We should delegate power to lower levels and let lower levels and the people take care of their own things. When there are fewer "Buddhas" at the top, there will be fewer "worshipers" in the "temple" and organs will be simplified automatically.

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CSO: 4005/42

WANG RUOSHUI ON DEMOCRACY, LEGAL SYSTEM

Shanghai FAXUE [JURISPRUDENCE] in Chinese No 8, Aug 86 pp 19-20

[Article by staff reporter Shi Binhai [2457 3453 3189] and special contributor Chang Kai [1603 1956]: "On the Ups and Downs of Democracy and Legal System; An Interview with Famous Theorist Comrade Wang Ruoshui"]

[Excerpt] Comrade Wang Ruoshui, famous theorist and former deputy chief editor of RENMIN RIBAO, recently came to Shanghai and made an academic report to theoretical and press circles on the "double-hundred" principle. During his visit, Comrade Wang Ruoshui mentioned that lately he had made special efforts to study the Constitution and had many thoughts about it. As a philosopher, what kind of philosophic thoughts will he have from the legal point of view? For this, we conducted a special interview with Comrade Wang Ruoshui.

We Should Use Our lives To Defend the Constitution

First, Comrade Wang Ruoshui said that it was very encouraging to know that the CPC Central Committee had set forth the slogan of "creative freedom" and that intellectuals supported it as much as they did the "double-hundred" principle which was set forth in 1956. Then, he brought up a question: "Why is it that nobody pays any attention to the 1954 Constitution and the 1982 Constitution which both clearly stipulate that citizens have the freedom to engage in scientific research and literary and art creation?" He expanded on the subject by saying: "When we expound the double-hundred principle and creative freedom, we often quote what party leaders say but mention nothing about the Constitution which has more authority and is the supreme authority. Can we call this normal? This explains at least one thing that the Constitution has not struck roots in the hearts of the people and the people have not respected and enforced the Constitution as the supreme authority. This is also the reason why the "May 16th" directive alone could turn the Constitution into a piece of useless paper in the "cultural revolution." China has always had political labels of all kinds except for one--the 'violation of the Constitution.' The constitutional rights of citizens are not bestowed by any leading comrade as a favor. Instead, they should be defended and safeguarded with our lives."

Then, Comrade Wang Ruoshui addressed the issue of "popularizing the legal system" among all citizens. He thought "popularizing the legal system" was very important "because the Constitution and laws are made by the people. The people are, of course, the masters of the state. The purpose in 'popularizing the legal system' should be raising the people's consciousness of the subject of rights. Law is made to protect and serve the people; therefore, 'popularizing the legal system' should not become something that the higher level demands on the lower level and that emphasizes only the need for the people to abide by law. Speaking of observing law, first of all, the higher level should observe law. This position must not be reversed. We cannot forget that during the 10-year turmoil, a single document on "the dismissal of all posts inside and outside the party" could dismiss even the President of the state who was elected according to the Constitution. This is worth our repeated serious thinking."

"Our national people's congress should still concentrate energies on the progress of democracy. It is necessary to ensure that people's representatives can fully exercise democratic rights in the political life of the state. I have been a deputy to the national people'e congress for 5 years and I have a lot of experience in this regard. Recently, Comrade Bo Yibo called attention to arousing the pride and confidence of the people. In my opinion, an important source of pride and confidence is the consciousness of the subject of rights."

Democracy and the Legal System Should Not Be Reversed

Comrade Wang Ruoshui talked to our staff reporters about the relation between democracy and legal system. He said: "Political democracy is the foundation and insurance of a legal system whereas law is made to protect democracy. The masses of the people are still longing and cheering for 'Qingtian' and love plays on 'the Revered Bao' and the character 'Li Qingtian' in the soap opera 'A New Star.' Why? Because there are still injustice and wrong, framed-up, and unjust cases in the world, the masses of the people are expecting for a 'Qingtian' who is impartial and incorruptible to protect their interests from 'despots' of all kinds. In the final analysis, the masses of the people hope that somebody can "back them up" instead of 'being their own masters and making their own decisions.' Therefore, this is not the consciousness of democracy in the modern sense. Once the democratic rights of the people are really established and the society legalized, the image of "Qingtian" will weaken and disappear in people's minds because by then the people will no longer need "Qingtian."

"Because of this, democracy and the legal system must be discussed together. The construction of our legal system needs political democracy for insurance and promotion. The positions of democracy and legal system must not be reversed. The people must have the consciousness of the subject of rights--namely, being their own masters. Otherwise, how could the people remain silent when the President of a state, elected by the people, was dismissed simply by a document of some kind?"

Both Academic and Political Issues May Be Contended

Wang Ruoshui said: "The free airing of views is a sign of great political integrity and strength. There is now a popular way of wording which says academic and political issues should be separated when implementing the 'double-hundred' principle, as if political issues are not allowed to be 'contended.' This involves the issue on the democratic rights of the people. For instance, if people's representatives have different views or objections to some issues (including political issues), are they allowed to bring them up for discussion? If social workers have differing political views, are they allowed to 'contend'? As a matter of fact, this issue is already resolved in China's constitution for Chinese citizens have the freedoms of speech and the press. May we ask if Chinese citizens could not exercise their freedoms of speech and the press, how could they exercise their own rights to supervise the government? How could ideological and academic theories develop? Marxism itself also progresses in the process of comparison and 'contention.' In the sphere of science, we should only submit to truth; in the sphere of politics, people's interests are above everything else. Because, people's interests coincide with truth. 'What I say goes' is not recommended. 'Leniency, harmony, unity, and understanding' are better practices. Our theoretical workers should have a tenacious fighting spirit and engage in exploration and research in a positive, bold, independent, and free manner. Since it is only exploration, the people should be allowed to air differing views. Because, we engage in academic research in order to solve existing problems, not seeking truth just for the sake of seeking truth.

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POSTSCRIPT OF WU XIUQUAN'S BOOK 'REMINISCENCES'

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Oct 86 p 4

[Summary of the postscript of "Reminiscences" by Wu Xiuquan [0124 0208 2938] and published recently by the Shanghai Literature and Art Publishing House]

[Text] Man is always advancing and looking forward. In order to make better advances, it is necessary for one to constantly look back on the road he has traversed so as to constantly sum up experiences and prevent the recurrence of errors. This is what we often say "past experience, if not forgotten, is a guide for the future." Because of this, our party made two special resolutions concerning several historical questions within the party. In the past few years, our party issued several directives on the research and data collection of party history and called on old comrades to do a good job in writing the reminiscences of revolution and put in writing their experience and what they knew so as to preserve and salvage the party's historical data and provide relatively full, accurate, and concrete materials for later generations to understand history and study traditions. These instructions and practices of the party, in my opinion, are very correct and necessary. As time goes by, a large number of old comrades who made major contributions to and put in a lot of hard work for the causes of the party and the people have stepped down or are stepping down from the stage of history. Some have passed away. As their comrades-in-arms and contemporaries, we have the obligation to tell later generations about their feats and achievements. As for those comrades who were attacked and slandered, we are even more obliged to help them restore their original honor. For this, in the past few years, I have written a number of my reminiscences and articles to commemorate old comrades. Some of which have been published on newspapers and periodicals.

I have considered that the reason I wrote these is to publicize and introduce our party's struggle in the past decades and let the new generation gain enlightenment and learn from the successes, failures, joys, and sorrows of their predecessors. Since I published some of my scripts, they have indeed drawn vigorous responses from many readers and positive appraisals from some leading comrades of the central government. They have all warmly encouraged me to continue my writing.

I have long engaged in military and foreign affairs work and have very little talent in literature and poetry. I wrote and published these scripts only

because I do not want to be unworthy of the great time I experienced or disappoint the outstanding comrades I knew so well, and more importantly, because it is needed by the reality. They are at most a fragment of the incomparably glorious and magnificent epic of our party's revolution.

I must explain that although this book is under my name, it actually contains many comrades' work and efforts. The Central Commission for the Collection of Historical Party Materials, and some newspapers, periodicals, publishing houses, and concerned organizations have also given me great help and support. I extend deep appreciation to them and wish that all comrades who read this book will think of their merits and accomplishments.

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LI GUIXIAN ATTENDS LONG MARCH TEA PARTY

OW231052 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 21 Oct 86

[Excerpts] The Anhui Provincial CPC Committee, Government, and Military District this morning held a tea party at the main hall of (Daoxianglou) Guesthouse to mark the 50th anniversary of the success of the Red Army's Long March. Responsible comrades of the party, government, and Army in the province Li Guixian, Wang Yuzhao, Yuan Zhen, Shi Junjie, Yang Yongliang, (Wang Zhengxin), Lan Ganting, (Qu Jianxiao), Xia Deyi, Yang Chengzong, Zheng Jiaqi, and Zhang Honggui; and responsible comrades of the PLA units stationed in Anhui (Wei Bin), (Li Zhenhua), and (Zhou Fang) attended the tea party.

The tea party was hosted by Governor Wang Yuzhao. Shi Junjie, deputy secretary of the provincial party committee and chairman of the provincial CPPCC Committee spoke at the tea party. On behalf of the provincial party committee, government, and military district, he extended cordial greetings to the Red Army veterans and toasted to their cheerful spirits, health, and longevity.

Comrade Shi Junjie said: The Red Army was the glorious paragon of ideals, moral, and discipline. Its lofty spirit of staunchness and loyalty dedicated to the revolutionary ideal and cause in those years is still an indispensable spiritual force that must be aroused in developing the material and spiritual civilizations today.

He called on the leading cadres of the party and government organs at all levels, all enterprises and institutions, and all party members in the province to take the lead to study, inherit, and carry forward the revolutionary spirit of the Red Army's Long March; to devote more efforts to promoting their own spiritual civilization; and to use their exemplary actions and hard work to organize and push forward the development of the spiritual civilization of the whole society.

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LI GUIXIAN ADDRESSES LONG MARCH MEETING IN HEFEI

OW251209 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 22 Oct 86

[Excerpts] Today the Anhui Provincial Party Committee and Government ceremoniously held in the Jianghuai Theater, Hefei, a meeting to mark the 50th anniversary of the Long March victory of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army. Sitting on the rostrum, which was covered with flowers, were responsible persons of the provincial party committee, the provincial advisory committee, the provincial people's congress, the provincial government, the provincial CPPCC committee, the provincial discipline inspection committee, and the provincial military district, as well as Red Army veterans. Sitting in the front row at the rostrum were Li Guixian, Yuan Zhen, Shi Junjie, Li Shinong, Huang Yan, (Wang Sheng), Su Yu, Gao Langping, (Zhang Qingshen), Zhang Honggui, (Rong Yukun), Zhao Baoxing, and (Wang Shenjun). Over 300 Red Army veterans of the Hefei area were seated in the honorary seats. Commanders and fighters of the provincial military district and troops stationed in Hefei, cadres of departments directly under the provincial authorities and Hefei City, and representatives of youths, totalling more than 1,400 people, attended the meeting.

Li Guixian, secretary of the Anhui Provincial Party Committee, spoke at the meeting. He said: [Begin recording] Today is the 50th anniversary of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army's Long March victory. Representatives of the party, government, military, and various circles of Anhui Province society are here to mark this day of great historical significance. On behalf of the provincial party committee and government, I extend my heartfelt respects and cordial regards to the veteran Red Armymen, guerrillas of Anhui Province, to all the people from the old revolutionary areas who made great contributions to our revolution, and to the veteran Red Army fighters present at this meeting. [end recording]

In his speech, Li Guixian reviewed the Red Army's Long March history and emphasized the historical significance of the Long March. He said: The purpose of marking the 50th anniversary of the Long March is to carry on the fine traditions of our party and the Red Army. We should strive to build socialism with Chinese characteristics and with the Long March spirit. We should learn from the Red Army the lesson of firm conviction and loyalty to our revolutionary cause, and, with common cause, we should mobilize and unite the people of Anhui Province to work hand in hand for the fulfillment of the general tasks of the new period. We should learn

the Red Army's heroic spirit in defying difficulties, its unyielding will, and its courage to struggle and fight for victory. We should continue to emancipate our minds, firm up our will to carry out reforms, take bold steps to tackle new problems, bring forth new ideas, and to firmly carry out reforms. We should learn the Red Army's lofty spirit of serving the people wholeheartedly and of working selflessly for the public interest. We should emulate its intenstinal fortitude and its way of showing concern for and closely integrating itself with the masses; and we should work hard to fundamentally improve party style and the social atmosphere. Party committees, governments, and leading cadres at all levels should, with a strong sense of responsibility and urgency, do whatever they can to help the people living in old revolutionary areas to develop commodity production and to become better off sooner. In conclusion, Comrade Li Guixian said: [Begin recording] Comrades, the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee which closed recently unanimously adopted the "Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the Guiding Principles for Building a Socialist Spiritual Civilization." We should earnestly study the resolution and thoroughly understand its spirit and its essence. We should take concrete steps to implement the resolution by taking into consideration the actual situation of individual localities and departments. We should always bear in mind the overall design of our socialist modernization program, insist on simultaneously building material and spiritual civilizations, and work hard to improve our practical work. We should continue the Red Army's Long March and revolutionary spirit; and study and work hard, struggle in unity, and forge a new path for the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation and for the development of the Anhui Province. [end recording]

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EAST REGION

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

JIANGSU PARTY COMMITTEE HEARS HAN PEIXIN REPORT

OW240128 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 21 Oct 86

[Excerpt] The Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Jiangsu Provincial Party Committee was held in Nanjing this afternoon. Prior to this meeting, an enlarged plenary session of the Seventh Provincial Party Committee was held from 16 October till this morning.

The goal of the meeting was to relay, study, and implement the guidelines of the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee. The meeting heard Comrade Han Peixin's report relaying the guidelines of the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, and conscientiously studied and discussed the Resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the Guiding Principles for Developing Socialist Spiritual Civilization.

It was the unanimous view of the meeting that the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee was a meeting of tremendous significance in our party's history, and that the resolution of the party Central Committee is a programmatic document for strengthening the development of socialist spiritual civilization in the new period. The participants expressed unanimous support for the resolutions of the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, and were determined to implement the resolutions in light of Jiangsu's realities.

Having studied the resolutions of the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, the meeting deliberated the Jiangsu Provincial Party Committee's Opinions on Implementing the Resolution of the 6th Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee on the Guiding Principles for Developing Socialist Spiritual Civilization. The plenary session gave consent to the opinions in principle, and instructed the provincial party committee's Standing Committee to make further revisions based on the suggestions offered at the meeting, and to circulate it as a document of the provincial party committee for implementation. The meeting also exchanged experiences in developing socialist spiritual civilization.

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EAST REGION REGIONAL AFFAIRS

JIANGXI MEETING DISCUSSES EX-GOVERNOR'S CRIMES

OW241333 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 22 Oct 86

[Excerpts] The fifth meeting of the Sixth Jiangxi Provincial People's Congress opened at the 1 August auditorium in Nanchang this afternoon. A total of 944 deputies were due to attend the meeting. Only 770 deputies actually attended the meeting; 84 deputies were absent due to illness or because of other reasons. However, the number of deputies attending the meeting constituted a quorum.

Attending the meeting were Standing Committee chairmen of the meeting presidium Xu Qin, Wang Shufeng, Wang Zemin, Zheng Xiaoxian, Liang Kaixuan, Huang Xiandu, Peng Shengxi, and Liu Bin.

Seated on the rostrum were members of the meeting presidium and leading comrades of the provincial party committee, the provincial advisory committee, the provincial discipline inspection commission, the provincial military district, the Nanchang Military Academy, the provincial higher people's court, the provincial people's procuratorate, and the provincial CPC committee who had been invited to attend the meeting. Among the leading comrades were Wu Guanzheng, Liu Fangren, Wang Zhaorong, (Lu Xiuzhen), (Wang Taihua), (Zhao Zhiping), Zhao Zengyi, (Bi Sheng), Zhu Zhihong, (Li Yelin), (Wang Linde), (Li Yin), Wang Shuheng, (Wu Ping), Yang Yongfeng, (Shen Hanxing), (Lu Liang), (Lu Shanyu), and Wu Tiyu.

Two items were on today's meeting's agenda:

1. A report by Zhu Zhihong, secretary of the provincial discipline inspection commission, on serious mistakes committed by Comrade Ni Xiance.

2. Discussion and voting on measures concerning personnel appointments and dismissals.

In his report, Zhu Zhihong said: During his tenure, Ni Xiance violated laws and party discipline by leading a decadent life, exerting a bad moral influence, forsaking principle, abusing his authority and power, practicing favoritism, shielding smugglers, and betraying state secrets. He exerted an extremely bad influence among the masses.

Present at today's meeting as observers were responsible comrades of various departments under the provincial party committee and the standing committee of the provincial people's congress as well as leading comrades of various departments under the provincial people's government.

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EAST REGION REGIONAL AFFAIRS

JIANGXI ELECTS WU GUANZHENG AS NEW GOVERNOR

OW251450 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Oct 86

[Text] The Fifth Session of the Sixth Jiangxi Provincial People's Congress held a third plenary meeting this afternoon to elect Comrade Wu Guanzheng governor of Jiangxi Province.

Zheng Xiaoxian, executive chairman of the Presidium, presided over the meeting. Other executive chairmen who attended today's meeting were: Wan Shaofen, Wang Shufeng, Peng Shengxi, Liu Bin, (Wu Changgeng), (Wang Chengzhu), (Zhou Shurong), (Cao Gengtian), Li Yanling, and (Tao Xifu). Also attending the meeting were permanent chairmen of the Presidium, including Xu Qin, (Wang Deming), Liang Kaixuan, and (Huang Tiandu).

Other Presidium members seated on the rostrum and leading comrades attending the meeting on invitation included: Wu Guanzheng, Liu Fangren, Jiang Zhuping, Wang Zhaorong, (Lu Xiuzhen), (Wang Taihua), Zhao Zhijian, Zhao Zengyi, (Wang Mingde), (Li Ying), Wang Shuheng, Wu Ping, Yang Yongfeng, Lu Liang, Li Shanyuan, and Wu Tiyu. Veteran comrades seated on the rostrum were (Zhang Yuping) and Li Fangyuan.

The number of deputies due to attend the meeting was 944, and those who actually attended today's meeting totalled 767, which constituted a quorum. There were four items on the meeting's agenda:

1. Approving the appointment of a general ballot examiner and the draft namelist of ballot examiners;

2. Electing the governor of Jiangxi Province;

3. Speech by the new governor; and

4. Speech by Wan Shaofen, secretary of the provincial party committee.

The meeting first approved by acclamation the appointment of a general ballot examiner and the namelist of ballot examiners. It then elected the governor by secret ballot. The number of votes issued and returned at the meeting were 767 each, which meant the election was valid. According to the election results announced by Zheng Xiaoxian, executive chairman of the meeting, Comrade Wu Guanzheng was elected governor of Jiangxi Province. Wu Guanzheng and Wan Shaofen spoke at the meeting.

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EAST REGION REGIONAL AFFAIRS

NEW JIANGXI GOVERNOR ADDRESSES CONGRESS MEETING

OW251625 Nanchang Jiangxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Oct 86

["Excerpts" of Governor Wu Guanzheng's Speech at the Third Plenary Meeting of the Fifth Session of the Sixth Provincial People's Congress on the afternoon of 24 October]

[Text] Comrade Wu Guanzheng said: First of all, please allow me to extend my heartfelt thanks to all the deputies for their trust in me. It is my wish to work for the people of my hometown who raised me. Although I am an old pal [of yours], I left my hometown at an early age and returned in old age. My understanding of Jiangxi's situation is very poor. After reading the reports of some departments and visiting some units in the past 2 weeks since I returned, I strongly feel that Jiangxi has great potential, is capable of great accomplishments, and is very promising.

He stated: Being assigned to the important post of governor is a measure of the party's confidence and the people's trust. I will strive to overcome difficulties with everybody. In carrying out my future tasks, I will definitely work hard at studying Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong's Thought, at acquiring management expertise, at collecting the good experiences and emulating the fine workstyle of Jiangxi cadres, and at following the sound moral character of Jiangxi people. I will also step up efforts to improve myself and constantly upgrade my ideological consciousness and understanding of policies. I will keep politically in line with the central authorities by upholding the simultaneous building of the two civilizations, making persistent efforts to conduct reforms, and directing my energies toward economic construction. In organizational work, I will take all parts of Jiangxi into account, treat people sincerely, and say more words and do more works that are conducive to unity. In terms of workstyle, it is necessary to take a democratic approach, follow the mass line, encourage the free airing of views, perform tasks in accordance with the law, respect knowledge and talent, and strengthen efforts to make policymaking scientific and democratic. As regards the party style, it is necessary to perform official duties honestly, handle matters impartially, and refrain from seeking personal privileges and gains. I would like to take this opportunity to express my hope that governments at all levels and departments in various sectors will improve

their work efficiency, foster the concept of wholeheartedly serving the people, solve problems for the grassroots and the people, and do some more practical work instead of shirking responsibility.

Wu Guanzheng noted: It is my firm belief that as long as we have the leadership of the central and provincial party committees, the supervision and the support of the advisory commission, the people's congress, and the CPPCC committee, and the joint efforts of all Jiangxi cadres and people, we can certainly enhance the revolutionary tradition, achieve greater glory, and invigorate Jiangxi on this land which is full of the advanced deeds of revolutionary martyrs.

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SHANGHAI FORUM URGES '8 MODERNIZATIONS'

Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 10 Sep 86 p 5

[Article: "Shanghai's Forum on Political Reform Points out That Four Modernizations Are Not Enough; China Must Have Eight Modernizations"]

[Text] The Intelligence Research Institute of the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences and "SHEHUI BAO" not long ago held a forum on the theories of political structural reform which proposed the eight modernizations--namely, industrial, agricultural, national defense, and scientific and technological modernizations plus ideological, political, cultural, and life-style modernizations.

At the forum, participants held that the breakthrough of political structural reform is the genuine implementation of the "double-hundred" principle. Political issues should be discussed openly. The reform needs theoretical preparation whereas theoretical exploration needs the atmosphere of political democracy. With regard to theories concerning the reform of political structure, we need courageous people of lofty ideals to break through the forbidden zone.

The participants pointed out that the disregard of law is a major obstacle to the reform and modernization. An urgent task for the reform of political structure is to ensure that "laws are observed" and the first step is to ensure that all democratic rights of the people stipulated in the Constitution are secure.

They said: Another major obstacle to the reform and modernization is the remnants of feudal autocracy whose prominent expression is privilege. Only by removing these obstacles can the people really become their own master and can there be hope for reform and modernization.

The participants at the forum emphasized that it is not enough to advocate "four modernizations" alone in the modernization drive. They said China wants all-around modernization; therefore, in addition to industrial, agricultural, national defense, and scientific and technological modernizations, we also need ideological, political, cultural, and life-style modernizations. Without modernization in these fields, the other modernizations are out of the question.

The participants also aired views on such issues as the theoretical development of Marxism and improvement in political science courses.

Attending the forum were over 20 people including Su Shaozhi [5685 4801 2535], director of the Marxism-Leninism Research Institute under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences; Shu Wen [5289 2429], vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the Shanghai Municipal People's Congress; Cao Manzhi [2580 3355 0037], director of the Shanghai Municipal Society of Sociology (chief editor of "SHEHUI BAO"); and Zheng Kaiqi [6774 7030 3825], deputy director of the Intelligence Research Institute under the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences.

12302
CSO: 4005/71

RUI XINGWEN ATTENDS SHANGHAI CPC COMMITTEE PLENUM

OW251041 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 24 Oct 86

[Excerpts] The Second Plenary Session of the Fifth Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee was held at the Shanghai Exhibition Center yesterday afternoon. The session called on all party organizations, party members, and people throughout the city, under the leadership of the party central committee, to uphold the four fundamental principles, to persist in all-round reform and in opening to the outside world as well as to other parts of China, energetically participate in building a material and a spiritual civilization, make even greater contributions to revitalizing the Chinese nation and developing Shanghai, and welcome the 13th national party congress with outstanding achievements.

Rui Xingwen, secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, presided over and spoke at the session. Other leaders seated at the rostrum included Jiang Zemin, Yang Di, Huang Ju, Wu Bangguo, and Zeng Qinghong, deputy secretaries of the municipal party committee; Chen Tiedi, Zhang Dinghong, Ping Changxi, Mao Jingguan, Shi Zhusan, Zhao Qizheng, and (Huang Liping), members of the Standing Committee of the municipal party committee.

Comrade Rui Xingwen first asked all to rise to pay a silent tribute to the death of Marshal Ye Jianying.

The session adopted in principle the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee's plan for building a socialist spiritual civilization during the seventh 5-year plan period. The session held that the municipal party committee's plan was formulated in accordance with the resolution of the CPC Central Committee on the guiding principles for building a socialist spiritual civilization and meets the needs of the strategic plan for developing Shanghai's economy, which the party Central Committee and the State Council have approved and endorse in principle.

The session approved the promotion of Comrade (Wang Chonglin) as member of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee. The session decided to hold Shanghai's party congress in the middle of next year. Prior to the

plenary session, a 3-1/2 day preparatory meeting was held beginning on 20 October. During the preparatory meeting, the participants heard a report on the current economic situation and the main tasks for this winter and next spring delivered by Comrade Jiang Zemin.

Attending the plenary session were 58 members of the municipal party committee and 12 alternate members of the committee. Attending the session as observers were members of the municipal advisory commission.

/9604
CSO: 4005/162

COMMEMORATION CEREMONIES HELD AT SUN YAT-SEN MEMORIAL

Hao Jianxiu Attends

OW140432 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 12 Nov 86

[Excerpts] People from all walks of life in Shanghai gathered in the [place name indistinct] on the morning of 11 November at a grandiose meeting to commemorate the 120th birth anniversary of Mr Sun Yat-sen, a great forerunner of revolution. Some 1,600 people attended the meeting. They included Hao Jianxiu, member of the Secretariat of the CPC Central Committee; Liu Jingji, vice chairman of the CPPCC National Committee; responsible persons of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee, People's Congress Standing Committee, People's Government and CPPCC Committee; some members and alternate members of the CPC Central Committee, and some members of the Central Advisory Commission and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission residing in Shanghai; responsible persons of PLA units in Shanghai; responsible persons of Shanghai municipal committees of various democratic parties and Shanghai's mass organizations; and personalities from other circles.

Jiang Zemin, deputy secretary of the Shanghai Municipal CPC Committee and Mayor of Shanghai, addressed the commemoration meeting.

Jiang Zemin said: Mr Sun Yat-sen repeatedly emphasized that China is always an indivisible whole. The reunification of China is the common aspiration of the people throughout our country. The unfortunate split between Taiwan and the motherland's mainland at present completely runs counter to Sun Yat-sen's unfulfilled wish, and also violates the fundamental interests of the people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait.

Jiang Zemin said that the people in Shanghai sincerely hope to increase exchanges with compatriots of all circles in Taiwan. He reiterated that Taiwan compatriots are welcome to come to visit relatives or friends, sightsee or settle in Shanghai. He also expressed his welcome for Taiwan's industrialists and businessmen to conduct economic activities in Shanghai, and for personalities from Taiwan's educational, scientific, cultural and sports circles to visit Shanghai on exchange programs. He suggested that the shipping departments of Taiwan and Shanghai should rapidly restore passenger and cargo shipping service between Shanghai and Jilong [Keelung] ports.

Other speakers at the meeting included (Xu Yifang), vice chairman of the Shanghai municipal Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee; Tan Jiazhen, chairman of the Shanghai municipal committee of the China Democratic League; and Dong Yinchu, chairman of the Shanghai municipal committee of the China Zhi Gong Dang.

Jiangsu Governor Visits

OW121155 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 7 Nov 86

[Text] Members of a delegation of people of all circles in Hong Kong and Macao paid homage to Dr Sun Yat-sen at the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum yesterday. Attending the ceremonies were leader of the delegation Fok Ying Tung and deputy delegation leaders (Ma Meng), (Zhang Shiping), and (Liang Xiyun).

The ceremonies began at 0900. On behalf of the delegation of people of all circles in Hong Kong and Macao, Mr Fok Ying Tung and Xu Jiatun, who is head of XINHUA's Hong Kong branch, placed a basket of flowers at the mausoleum. To express their high respect for Dr Sun Yat-sen, all participants stood in silent tribute and made three bows in front of his seated statue.

The delegation was accompanied to the mausoleum by provincial and Nanjing leaders, including Shen Daren, Gu Xiulian, Chu Jiang, (Qian Zhonghan), Zhang Xuwu, (Xu Zhi), Zhang Yaohua, (Zhang Xuhuan); responsible persons of the Provincial and Nanjing Democratic Parties, including (Tang Hongzhi), (Chen Minzhi), (Chen Suiheng), (Shan Shumo), (Deng Haoming), (Wu Zhen), (Cheng Bingwen), and (Deng Jiangzhong); responsible persons of the provincial federation of Taiwan compatriots, the provincial federation of returned overseas Chinese, and the Nanjing Association of Whampoa Academy Alumni; as well as people from other circles.

The delegation also visited the (Changding) building to view works of Dr Sun Yat-sen and other historical objects on display there. The guests also heard recorded talks housed at the former residence of Soong Ching Ling. In the afternoon the delegation paid homage at the tombs of Liao Zhongkai and He Xiangning, toured the area, and visited the Zijinshan Observatory.

Zhejiang Governor Speaks

OW140623 Hangzhou Zhejiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 12 Nov 86

[Excerpts] Zhejiang Province and Hangzhou City held a solemn meeting at the provincial science hall this morning to commemorate the 120th birth anniversary of Dr Sun Yat-sen. Wang Jiayang, chairman of the CPPCC Provincial Committee, presided over the meeting.

Provincial and city party, government, and Army leaders Li Dexin, Tie Ying, Cui Jian, Zhai Xiwu, Wang Qidong, Shi Lei, Tang Yuanbing, Wu Youxin, Zhu Zhiguang, Qiu Qinghua, Zhan Shaowen, Feng Xiaoshan, Zhong Boxi, Chen Xia, and Zhou Fang attended the meeting together with officials of all democratic parties and people's organizations, as well as people from various circles, totaling some 1,000.

Governor Xue Ju made an important speech at the meeting. He said: Dr Sun Yat-sen's unyielding spirit and devotion to the country's prosperity commands deep reverence among the people at all times. While commemorating his 120th birth anniversary, we can proudly report to Dr Sun Yat-sen that our country has achieved independence and progress and that the modernization drive has advanced smoothly. Unfortunately, Taiwan remains separated from the mainland of the motherland. We hope that the Taiwan authorities will proceed from the interests of the country and the people in seriously considering the proposal for one country with two systems for solving the reunification problem and fulfilling the common long-cherished dream of the people on both sides of the strait. This should be the best way to commemorate Dr Sun Yat-sen.

He Zhibin, chairman of the Zhejiang Provincial Committee of the Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee, spoke on behalf of all provincial-level democratic parties and the provincial federation of industry and commerce.

/12913
CSO: 4005/190

BRIEFS

LU MAOZENG ADDRESSES DEMOCRATIC PARTIES--Lu Maozeng [7120 2021 2582], deputy secretary of the Shandong Provincial CPC Committee, spoke to over 80 responsible persons of provincial-level democratic parties, industrial and commercial federations, and concerned mass organizations at the club of the Nanjiao Guest House in the afternoon of 5 September. He said: Developing democracy and perfecting the legal system is an important element of the reform of the political structure. Vigorous participation in political consultation and the exercise of the function of democratic supervision by various democratic parties is an important way to develop democracy and perfect the legal system. It is also a privilege of democratic parties and non-party friends. With regard to democratic parties, our party set forth the principles of "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" and "being open and sharing honor and disgrace with each other" which are not just pretty slogans. They are the basic requirements of socialist democracy. As the ruling party, our party indeed needs supervision from not only within the party but more importantly outside the party. The comrades of democratic parties should contribute to the reform of political structure, vigorously participate in the discussions of major state policies and principles, and supervise our party and government cadres at all levels. At the same time, I also wish that all democratic parties and non-party personages be bold in making more criticisms and suggestions on our party and government to help us improve work and correct work style. [Excerpts] [Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 6 Sep 86 p 1] 12302

JIANGXI GOVERNOR DISMISSED--The Xinhua News Agency of China reported: Ni Xiance [0242 3759 4595], governor of Jiangxi province, has been relieved of his duties for the violation of law and disciplines and other serious mistakes. The Standing Committee of the Sixth Jiangxi Provincial People's Congress held its 19th plenum on the morning of 27 September. One of the major items on the agenda was to "discuss the issue of serious mistakes committed by Governor Ni Xiance." During the 4-day session, Wang Shufeng [3769 2579 2800], chairman of the standing committee of the provincial people's congress will announce the 25 September decision of the State Council on relieving Ni Xiance of his duties; Zhu Zhihong [2612 3112 1347], secretary of the discipline inspection commission of the Jiangxi Provincial CPC Committee, will report on the situation of serious mistakes committed by Ni Xiance; and the standing committee of the provincial people's congress will hold panel discussions to deliberate on the candidates for the acting governor and adopt a resolution on acting governor. According to the authorities, Wu Guanzheng [0702 1351 2973], 48-year old current mayor of Wuhan City, is among the candidates for the acting governor. Wu Guanzheng is a native of Yugan County of Jiangxi Province and a graduate of the Qinghua University. [Text] [Hong Kong MING PAO in Chinese 27 Sep 86 p 5] 12302

SECRET DOCUMENTS REPORTED SOLD FOR PROFIT--Several government components in Nanjing have had the effrontery to raise money by "selling" classified documents to waste recycling stores. The units involved sold such documents as "Neibu Cankao" [Internal Reference], "Guoji Nei Can" [International Affairs for Internal Reference], "Junshi Qingbao" [Military Intelligence], "Zheng Dang Jianbao" [Briefs on Party Rectification], and even classified documents issued by public security organs for the purposes of investigation. An investigation recently conducted by security cadres of the Nanjing municipal CPC Committee determined that 28 government units sold classified documents that should have been destroyed internally to waste recycling stores, which then resold them to peddlers and paper mills. The 28 units sold 1,398 classified documents and 1,104 documents labelled secret. (Extracted from Nanjing ZHOU MO [WEEKEND].) [Text] [Shenyang SHENYANG RIBAO in Chinese 13 Oct 86 p 4]

JIANGXI GOVERNOR REMOVED FROM OFFICE--Nanchang, 24 Oct (XINHUA)--The Fifth Session of the Sixth Jiangxi Provincial People's Congress decided on 23 October to remove Governor Ni Xiance from office. This session began on 22 October. The delegates held that Ni Xiance, having committed serious mistakes during his term of office, was unsuitable for the post of governor. In accordance with the stipulations prescribed in Article 191 of the "Constitution of the PRC" and Article 9 of the "Organic Laws for Local People's Congresses and Governments at Various Levels of the PRC," the session decided to remove him from the post of governor. Before Ni Xiance was removed from the post of governor, the CPC Central Committee had dismissed him from the posts of deputy secretary, standing committee member, and member of the Jiangxi Provincial CPC Committee. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA Hong Kong Service in Chinese 1552 GMT 24 Oct 86] /9604

SUN YAT-SEN MEMORIAL--Today is the 120th birth anniversary of Mr Sun Yat-sen, a great forerunner of the revolution. More than 1,000 personages from various circles in Fujian Province gathered at a grandiose meeting to mark the occasion. The participants included leading Comrades Chen Guangyi, Hu Ping, Hu Hong, Cheng Xu, Yuan Gai, Zhang Yumin, Yuan Qitong, He Shaochuan, Zhang Zongde, Lu Sheng, Zhu Shaoqing, Huang Yaguang, Fu Baicui, Zhang Zhaohan, Wen Xiushan, Wang Yan, Guo Ruiren, Wang Zhi, Zeng Ming, Liu Yongye, Cai Liangcheng, You Dexin, Chen Xizhong, Ni Songmao, Zuo Fengmei, Chen Yangzeng, and Xu Jimei. Yuan Gai, chairman of the Fujian Provincial CPPCC Committee, presided over the meeting. Cheng Xu, chairman of the Fujian Provincial People's Congress Standing Committee, spoke at the meeting. [Excerpts] [Fuzhou Fujian Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 12 Nov 86 OW] /12913

CSO: 4005/190

INSTRUCTIONS ON COMMEMORATION SITES, ACTIVITIES

HK250209 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 23 Nov 86

[Text] On 16 November, the Hunan Provincial CPC Committee issued instructions on strengthening work regarding revolution commemoration sites and strictly controlling all commemoration activities.

The instructions say: The building of revolution commemoration facilities, including memorial halls, memorial monuments, old residence sites, and statues, must be carried out in a planned and systematic way in accordance with the instructions of the central authorities and with local financial resources. The procedures for submitting a report for approval must be complied with. All commemoration facilities must be solemn and simple. While they are built, attention must be paid to economizing on financial and material resources.

The instructions also say: From now on, except for the special level of the central authorities, memorial halls for an individual will not generally be built. To display and publicize the brilliant outstanding achievements of the revolutionary martyrs, we shall lay stress on building a Hunan provincial museum of revolution.

The instructions also demand: We must strictly control all commemoration activities. Regarding activities to commemorate important historical figures, we will only carry out such activities to mark every 100th anniversary of their birth or death. All commemoration activities must be simple and stress will be laid on practical results.

The instructions point out: It is necessary to reiterate the central authorities' instructions on prohibiting naming sites with a leader's name. The size of the commemoration sites of revolution must not be enlarged or rebuilt at will. No units or individuals are allowed to occupy the places and premises of the commemoration sites.

/12913
CSO: 4005/198

DISCRIMINATION AGAINST TEACHERS REPORTED

[Editorial Report] A commentary in Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 23 October 1986, page 2, reports that despite wage and bonus regulations issued by the Guangdong provincial government forbidding discriminatory treatment, 4 counties in Zhaoqing Prefecture and 12 counties in Huiyang Prefecture are still failing to award bonus pay to teachers. Responsible cadres have made excuses by saying that their respective governments have been short of revenue, when in fact they have granted bonus pay to cadres.

A similar commentary in Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 20 October 1986, page 1, reports that nationally renowned Southern Normal University has recently suffered a decline in enrollments because of parental reluctance for their children to go into teaching. According to the commentator, Gao Shan [7559 1472], there have been sporadic beatings of middle and grammar school teachers, the teacher's workload is comparatively heavy, teachers have to wait longer to receive housing accommodations, and in certain areas, teachers receive only 70 percent of the wages to which they are entitled. Gao Shan asked a teacher with more than 20 years of experience what course of study middle school graduates should pursue. His blunt reply was "Any career but teaching."

CSO: 4005/196

BRIEFS

UNITED FRONT WORK--This afternoon, Guo Rongchang, deputy secretary of the Provincial Party Committee spoke at the Provincial Party Committee hall to 1,600 members of various democratic parties at provincial and city levels, as well as cadres of organs directly under the provincial authorities; and delivered a report on united front work during the new historical period. He urged all parties as a whole to make concerted efforts in and strive for creating a new situation. Guo Rongchang said: Being adjacent to Hong Kong and Macau, and next to Taiwan, as well as being a famous hometown of Overseas Chinese, the province has eight democratic parties and various united front work organizations. It is also the first province that implemented the policy of opening up. Therefore, the united front work is very important. On ways of doing well in the province's united front work, Guo Rongchang said: Basing ourselves in Mainland China, we must focus our work on Taiwan, Hong Kong. Macau, and overseas; and promote our work overseas. The united front work in Mainland China is mainly to implement well the policies on united front work, and do well in making personnel arrangements for non-party personages. The key role of united front work in Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan and overseas is to improve the understanding and establish connections with overseas Chinese in a bold way. We should unify those who support the reunification of the motherland. [Text] [Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 21 Nov 86 HK] /12913

WORK FORUM ON INTELLECTUALS--Today, Guangzhou concluded the provincial work forum on intellectuals. The forum urged departments concerned in all localities to seriously investigate their situation of implementing the policies toward intellectuals, so as to strive to completely solve before the convention of the 13th CPC Congress problems left over from history. Also, we should hold accountable in political terms the leadership who attaches no importance to the work. The forum proposed that the focus of the province's next step of the implementation of policies concerning intellectuals is mainly to examine the situation of solving problems left over from history, which were handled in an erroneous way under the guidance of the leftist thinking, ever since the founding of the state, including the periods before and during the Great Cultural Revolution. [Text] [Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 21 Nov 86 HK] /12913

CSO: 4005/198

SOCIOLOGISTS DISCUSS POLITICAL STRUCTURAL REFORM

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Aug 86 p 1

[Article by reporter Li Jiajie [2621 1367 2638]: "A Group of Sociologists in Sichuan Meet To Discuss the Theoretical Issues of Political Structural Reform"]

[Text] A group of sociologists in Sichuan Province recently met in Chengdu to discuss theoretical issues concerning the reform of political structure.

The topics of the forum included the importance and necessity of the reform of the political structure, the arduousness and complexity of political structural reform, the relationship between political and economic structural reforms, the formation and appraisal of the current political structure, and the contents, direction, breakthroughs, and goals of political structural reform.

The Sichuan Provincial CPC Committee gave vigorous support to the discussion of sociologists. Xu Chuan [6079 1557], standing committee member of the provincial CPC committee, and director of the propaganda department, spoke at the forum. He said: "It is all right even if some views are not necessarily complete and proper during the studies. You can solve the problem by continuing to study, exchanging views, inspiring each other, and carrying out democratic discussions."

Comrades participating at the forum pointed out: To meet the needs of the in-depth development of the all-around reform, it is very necessary to further reform the structure of political management. Political structural reform may start with organizational reform and the reform of the cadre system. An all-around scientific division of powers and duties should be conducted in all party and government organs, people's congress organs, mass organizations, enterprises, and establishments to solve the problem of the overcentralization of powers. At the same time, the life-long tenure system of cadres and leaders should be abolished so that cadres at all levels can become the real servants of the people.

They think because the present political structure is influenced by ingrained tradition and culture and its reform will involve many fields and make a great impact, the reform must give full consideration to China's basic national

conditions, set a direction and goal in light of the reality, secure a harmonious environment, and coordinate with the reform of the economic structure. Since political structural reform is not a change of socialist system, but the self-improvement in the socialist system and its development toward a higher form, the reform must be conducive to improving and strengthening party leadership. At present, the main task is to do a good job in investigation, research, and theoretical discussion to pinpoint the problems. We should not stir up rumors or solve problems by instigating public opinions.

12302
CSO: 4005/50

COUNTY PARTY RECTIFICATION RESULTS REPORTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Oct 86 p 4

[Article by reporter Wang Aisheng [3769 5337 3932]: "Leading Comrades Play an Exemplary Role by Being Strict With Themselves; Qi County Uses Party Work Style To Bring About Better Social Practices"]

[Text] The leading members of the Qi County CPC Committee of Shanxi Province have scored great achievements by setting an example and leading party members and cadres in correcting party work style. The party work style of 296 grassroots party branches, accounting for 70 percent of total party branches in the county, has taken a turn for the better.

Qi County, located in the Jinzhong Basin, is one of the commodity grain bases of Shanxi Province. In the past few years, none of the leading members of the county CPC committee, the county government, the county discipline inspection commission, the county people's congress, and the county CPPCC has taken advantage of their positions and powers to violate rules and build private housing; none of them has violated financial and economic disciplines to borrow or spend public funds or be in arrears in public funds obligation; none of them has given unauthorized approvals or made indiscriminate "exceptions" in the enrollment of students, the employment of workers, the transfer of cadres, and the transformation of "agricultural to non-agricultural industries;" and none of them has engaged in trade and enterprise management. Leading cadres at the county level are responsible respectively for the party work style of party organizations in 7 departments and 12 townships (and towns). Members of leading bodies are responsible respectively for the units and departments assigned to them. Leading cadres at all levels should make sure that their families and offsprings do not violate laws or discipline. The task of correcting the party work style has been assigned to each and every leading member. In light of actual conditions, all departments have started from weak links, made breakthroughs in key links, and promoted the work as a whole. For instance, public security and food departments have concentrated on issues concerning the "transformation of agricultural to non-agricultural industries," organizational, personnel, and labor departments have concentrated on issues concerning "the transfer of cadres in industrial departments," promotion, and employment, trying to watch out for symptoms of problems and stop them before they occur. Since the beginning of 1986, party members and cadres of the county tax bureau have turned down 23 dinner

invitations and gifts. They have volunteered to check and carefully investigate free foods and gifts given to them and paid for them according to their prices.

The Qi County CPC Committee has vigorously supported the work of the county discipline inspection commission and given full play to the function of discipline inspection departments. It has selected 458 cadres who have a strong party spirit, correct work style, and great ability to replenish discipline inspection departments at county, township, and village levels and invited 21 retired senior cadres to work as party work style and discipline liaison supervisors. Members of the county discipline inspection commission are allowed to take part in and supervise all major policy decisions and actions of the county CPC committee.

The Qi County CPC Committee has attached great importance to the education of party members in party spirit, work style, and disciplines and the improvement of party members' political quality. In addition to party schools run by the county, 12 townships (and towns) in the county, the county economic commission, and the county financial commission have all sponsored party schools. A total of 122 villages have built party member activity rooms. There are 360 full-time and part-time party education teachers and instructors in this county. According to a recent statistic, 180 party members have received education in party work style and disciplines. The political awareness of party members has markedly increased. According to a survey, 92.2 percent of the county's 7,100 party members are qualified or basically qualified. A total of 781 party members have been commended by the province, the prefecture or the county. The improvement of party work style has promoted the improvement of social practices. Comparing 1985 with 1984, the occurrence rate of criminal cases in the county declined 2.1 percent and public security cases declined 51.2 percent.

The improvement of party work style has promoted the economic development of Qi County, bringing about a prosperous phenomenon. In 1985, the gross value of the county's industrial and agricultural output surpassed 170 million yuan, doubling that of 1980. The per-capita income of rural areas was over 400 yuan.

12302
CSO: 4005/72

JILIN PREPARES TO ELECT DEPUTIES TO PEOPLE'S CONGRESSES

SK250812 Changchun JILIN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Nov 86 p 1

[Text] Our province has carried out in an all-round way the work of electing deputies to the 11th People's Congresses at county and township levels. Cities, prefectures, autonomous prefecture, and counties (cities, districts) have successively established their electoral committees (leading groups) and made various preparations for the election by successfully assigning cadres to take charge of the work and formulating electoral plans.

Some local party committees and electoral committees have put forward concrete demands for successfully conducting the electoral work for the change of terms. Some have pointed out that after conducting reforms in the rural economic system, a profound change in both political and economic situations among the rural areas has taken shape and many households and specialized households engaging in agricultural, industrial and sideline production, and urban units engaging in the tertiary industry, have emerged.

In line with the need of the situation, these upcoming deputies to the People's Congresses will not only symbolize an extensive representation, but also should have certain ability in conducting political consultations and activities. Some local party committees and electoral committees have also urged organizational departments at all levels to conduct examination work among the candidates for congress leading bodies in line with their right of personnel affairs, to solicit in an extensive way opinions offered by various circles and particularly by the deputies and veteran cadres, and to take into consideration the stability of these congress leading bodies in order to prevent an abrupt change just after the election and to safeguard the sanctity of law. Some of them have urged the departments concerned to conduct electoral work strictly according t legal procedures so as to ensure success in conducting the election. At present, some townships and towns that have taken up this pilot work and have completed the registration of voters and consulted the candidates for new deputies.

The party committees at all levels have attached great importance to the electoral work, and their responsible comrades have also taken personal charge of the work. They have also issued a specialized document to urge their subordinate units to regard the electoral work as their working emphasis in a certain upcoming period and to assign a secretary to assume responsibility for enhancing the leadership over electoral work and doing a good job in earnestly conducting the electoral work.

/12913
CSO: 4005/199

HARBIN RATED WORST IN RENDERING SERVICES TO FOREIGN VISITORS

[Editorial Report] A commentary in HARBIN RIBAO in Chinese on 8 October 1986, page 2, acknowledges that of 180 Chinese cities surveyed, Harbin ranks last in rendering services to foreign visitors. The survey, conducted by China Travel Service, polled more than 5,000 foreign visitors. The commentary states that the poor rating is the result of several recent incidents, including the beating of a foreign visitor by an employee of a local state-owned enterprise and a hotel's assigning of a man and a woman who did not know one another to the same room.

CSO: 4005/183

CURRENT STATUS OF PLA WAGES, BENEFITS

Taipei CHUNGKUNG YENCHIU [STUDIES ON CHINESE COMMUNISM] in Chinese Vol 20, No 9, 15 Sep 86 pp 82-91

[Article by Cheng Fang-kuang [6774 2455 3171]: "Current Status of Chinese Communist Army's Wage Adjustments and Welfare Benefit Grades"]

[Text] I. Foreword

The quality of the armed forces is equal to its combat effectiveness. If the quality is superior then the combat effectiveness is high, and if not then it is low, a situation that is one of the key probability factors in victory or defeat in war. And the proportion of superior and inferior components in the quality of the armed forces determines the efficiency of building the armed forces at the basic level, particularly that of basic-level logistics. If basic-level logistics were not set up, then the building at the basic level of combat-preparedness training, politics and ideology, culture and education would certainly be difficult to carry out effectively.

After the Chinese communists suffered a defeat in their war against Vietnam in 1979, they came up with the direction and decision for the line of "building modernized armed forces," adopting the strategic idea of "integrating peace and war" and carrying out a series of reform measures. On the one hand they have put into effect "streamlining and reorganization" in which the armed forces structure is readjusted and the leading cadres are withdrawn for new blood. On the other hand, they have not stinted at borrowiong huge loans from foreign countries, and have even slashed funds for the armed forces' basic level, in order to invest in the development of national defense science and technology and to discard old weapons and equipment and replace them with new weapons and equipment. Thus, they have neglected the most important link--the building of the armed forces' basic level--causing all kinds of problems to break out at the communist army's basic level, so that the basic level is out of step with the "building of modernized armed forces" and is unable to effect the relevant coordination. This article will only make an analysis of the summed-up relevant data on the situation in the treatment and mess aspects in life at the basic level of the communist army, in order to provide a reference for exploring the quality of life in the communist army's units so that its combat effectiveness may be judged.

II. The Communist Army's Wage Adjustments

A. Wages of Cadres

In the 10 years after 1955 the communist army had a system of military ranks, and it issued military pay in accordance with the level of the military rank's class. Later, because Mao Zedong referred to the system as a "bourgeois military line," it was abolished. As of now, the wages of the communist army's cadres are issued in accordance with their post rank. In accordance with a decision once made by the CPC Central Committee that "the wages of armed forces cadres are to be 20 percent higher than those of cadres in the localities," according to what has been revealed by the Chinese communists, the average monthly wage of the ordinary cadre in the communist army is 1(yuan (Renminbi, the same below) more than that of a cadre in the locality. The situation in recent years with respect to the wages of the communist army cadres will be analyzed later.

1. Wage standards before adjustment: the standards for the wages of cadres of the communist army's cadres are shown in detail on the following table:

Post Wage				Grade Wage		Total
Administrative Posts	S&T, lit&art	Sports Scale	Standard (yuan)	Admin Grade	Standard (yuan)	
Division	grade 6	grade 2	66.00	grade 14	112.00	178.00
Deputy Division	grade 7	grade 3	59.00	grade 15	102.00	161.00
Regiment	grade 8	grade 4	52.00	grade 16	92.00	144.00
Deputy Regiment	grade 9	grade 5	45.00	grade 17	82.00	117.00
Battalion	grade 10	grade 6	40.00	grade 18	72.00	112.00
Deputy Battalion	grade 11	grade 7	35.00	grade 19	65.00	100.00
Company	grade 12	grade 8	30.00	grade 20	58.00	88.00
Deputy Company	grade 13	grade 9	25.00	grade 21	51.00	76.00
Platoon	grade 14	grade 10	20.00	grade 22	44.00	64.00
Deputy Platoon	grade 15	grade 11	15.00	grade 23	37.00	52.00

2. Wage standards after adjustment: In July 1985, the Chinese communists decided to readjust the wages of the communist army's cadres. Although detailed figures on the scale of the readjustment have not yet been formally announced, we can get an inkling of them from a speech given in July 1985 by Zhang Zhixiu [1728 9455 4403], commander of the "Kunming Military Region," at a "military region work conference." He said: "With regard to wage reform, on the original basis the wage of a company cadre will be increased by about 25 yuan, that of a battalion cadre by about 35 yuan, that of a regiment cadre by about 55 yuan, and that of an army- and higher-level cadre by about 60 yuan." Calculated in accordance with this adjustment, at the present stage the monthly wages for cadres of the communist army's units are approximately: division, 232 yuan; regiment, 189 yuan; battalion, 147 yuan; and company, 113 yuan. Note: After the communist army's "streamlining and reorganization," the battalion and company deputy posts will be abolished, and the original 76 kinds of posts for which cadres were responsible will be held by specialized noncommissioned officers or volunteer soldiers.

B. Wages of Volunteer Soldiers

Wages for volunteer soldiers of the communist army began to be put into effect on 1 January 1979. According to the Chinese communists, this was a new kind of wage system that integrated the supply system with the wage system. Wages are divided into eight scale grades, the standards of which are: first grade, 113 yuan; second grade, 101 yuan; third grade 90 yuan; fourth grade, 79 yuan; fifth grade, 69 yuan; sixth grade, 59 yuan; seventh grade, 49 yuan; and eighth grade, 41 yuan.

C. Conscript Allowances

Fighters (conscripts) do not get wages, only allowances. Their allowances are based on the number of years in service and are divided into six standards. After the adjustment on 1 July 1985, the amounts of money are: first year, 12 yuan; second year, 13 yuan; third year, 14 yuan; fourth year, 17 yuan; fifth year, 23 yuan; and sixth year, 30 yuan. (Before adjustment the standards were respectively: 10 yuan, 11 yuan, 12 yuan, 14 yuan, 19 yuan, and 24 yuan).

D. Post Allowances

On 15 September 1985, the Chinese communists' JIEFANGJUN BAO disclosed: the communist army's General Staff Department and General Political Department have issued a notice stipulating that, after the new wage system is put into effect, all personnel who, in accordance with the establishment, are formally appointed to noncommissioned officer and squad leader posts will be given post allowances. Starting on 1 July 1985, the notice said, the personnel who are given post allowances are noncommissioned officers and squad leaders are as follows:

1. Those given noncommissioned officer post allowances: deputy squad leaders, full and deputy fendui commanders, captains and first mates of fifth-grade ships (boats), full and deputy regional unit commanders (not including cadets who are taking turns to concurrently act in this post), company

quartermasters, and chiefs of 200-watt and higher singleband radio stations and 400-watt and higher radio stations.

2. Those given squad leader post allowances: tank commanders, sentry post chiefs, film projection team chiefs, chiefs of weather observation teams, chiefs of weather forecast teams, chiefs of 15-watt and 150-watt radio stations, chiefs of printing (typing) teams. quartermasters, ordnance (equipment, POL) personnel and concurrently clerks, and battalion and company clerks.

Note: Post allowances were an emergency measure to solve the problem of "remuneration not being in line with labor" during the communist army's "reform of the cadre wage system." It has now been learned that the post allowance for noncommissioned officers is 3 yuan (Renminbi).

As everybody knows, 1985 was precisely the year in which the momentum of the Chinese communists' reforms was superficial and in which much consumption and the loss of control of funds was most serious. Under the circumstances in which all financial and economic operations had fallen into a difficult plight, to adjust upward the wages of an enorous number of armymen was an unwise move in complete violation of the laws of normal economic development. Obviously, under the pounding of extraordinary changes in the supply and marketing of markets and the steady rise of prices, there was no way that the communist army's original wages could maintain the bare necessities of life. This fact led to serious consequences and forced the Chinese communists to give it their full attention. Thus, they went ahead and took this expedient measure to adjust wages. In the communist army from top to bottom there is a trend of "looking for money," and there are signs of corrupt practices in the mutual competition to get extra income by improper means. The scope of this wage adjustment obviously cannot keep up with the rate of increase of the price fluctuations, and the situation is going from bad to worse with the standard of living even worse than it was under the former wages. In pursuit of the rationalization of the needs of life, the communist army had better not choose means that challenge discipline. Although corrupt evil practices are a traditional specific characteristic of the Chinese communists' socialist system, they are not unrelated to the state of affairs for many years in which wages and benefits were excessively low, which caused life to be excessively arduous.

III. Class Differences in Communist Army's Welfare Benefits

On the basis of the units' specific characteristics, missions, and the different environmental conditions where they are stationed, the communist army's mess (staple and nonstaple foods and fuel costs) supply criteria are divided into certain different quantitative categories and mess distinctions. Among them then the Army's service messes are divided into 5 types, the Navy's into 3 types, and the Air Force's into an air service mess and a ground service mess. Also, based on the different food supply proportion in regions and the differences in the prices of food, as well as the different prices of nonstaple foodstuffs and fuel, there is a division into 12 fixed sums for the accounting value of types of goods. It is stipulated that all units in the communist army will have ration standards for the various types of mess food

where they are stationed. The standards stipulated for the mess supplies of army service personnel and the communist army are concisely given as follows:

Table 1. Differentiation of Food Rations for Army Service Personnel

Ration	Personnel
45 jin per person per month (15 liang per day)	1. fighters and cadres of fendui below the battalion level; 2. warehouse storekeepers; 3. workers in the establishment who do heavy physical labor.
42 jin per person per month (14 liang per day)	boatmen of inland waters flotillas
38 jin per person per month (12.5 liang per day)	1. cadres and establishment staff of organizations a the army level and below, division hospitals, and regiment medical teams; 2. cadres and establishment staff of border defense county people's armed forces departments; 3. organization cadres and establishment staff of railway and engineering construction command posts and of base command posts; 4. organization cadres and establishment staff of warehouses at the regiment level and above; 5. cadres and establishment staff of supply stations and depots under the level of branch department and depot headquarters; 6. military representatives stationed in factories and in railway subbureaus, shipping subbureaus, provincial shipping management bureaus, and posts; 7. roving medical teams of independently organized messes; and 8. establishment workers who do light physical labor.

35 jin per person per day (11.5 liang per day)	1. organization cadres and establishment staff of county (city) people's armed forces departments, provincial military districts, garrison districts, guard districts, military region air forces, naval fleets, and service arms and headquarters of military regions; 2. cadres and establishment staff of college and academy organizations, hospitals, cadre rest centers, and scientific research units. 3. organization cadres of general headquarters, military regions, offices (bureaus) sent out by service arms, and branch headquarters; 4. military representatives stationed in military transport offices of railway bureaus and shipping management bureaus; 5. armed forces cadres of national defense industry offices.
Food Subsidies	1. In fendui below the battalion level stationed in the Northeast region, in army service messes there is a subsidy of 7 qian [35 grams] per person per day; the cadres purchase the food at the guoted price while thge fighters are given the food at the quated supply. 2. When organization cadres of warehouses at the regiment level and above take part in loading and unloading work, they are given a subsidy of 2 liang in purchased food per person per day. 3. If the food for organization cadres is insufficient, they are given a subsidy from produced food. The specific methods for this are determined by the logistics departments of military regions and service arms in line with the "methods for managing food produced by the armed forces."

Notes:

1. Female fighters who take their meals in the messhalls of organization cadres are given the same rations as the organization cadres.

2. Cadres recuperating in cadre rest centers are given their own original rations;

3. Within the scope of the stipulated rations, the food for establishment workers is adjusted by the logistics departments of the military region and the service arms with reference to the food rations for personnel in the localitiess doing the same type of work. The relationship between the establishment staff's permanent residences and food is in the localities, and the food is supplied by the localities.

4. The logistics departments of the military regions designate the border defense county people's armed forces departments that get a ration of 38 jin.

Table 2. Standards for Rations of Nonstable Foodstuffs and Fuel in Various Types of Army Service Messes. (liang per day)

	Mess Categories				
Name of Article	category 1	category 2	category 3	category 4	category 5
edible oil	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.8
soybean	0.7	1	1	1.2	1.3
meat	0.8	1.2	1.9	2.5	3
vegetables	15	15	15	1.5	15
white sugar	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.5
condiments	1	2	2	2	3
coal	10	14	14	14	20

Notes:

1. In units on plateaus there is an additional 0.6 qian of tea per person per day.

2. For organization cadres and establishment staff at the regiment level and above, there is a ration of 1.2 jin of edible oil per person per day, and other nonstaple foods and fuel are supplied as per category 2 mess.

3. The supply of edible oil and soybeans for the messes of injured and sick personnel and for guest houses at all levels are handled according to the provision of the "methods for supply of military food."

C. Differentiation of Personnel in All Categories of Army Service Messes

1. Personnel in category 1 messes: ordinary fighters or cadres who are working in fendui below the battalion level and taking their meals with the fighters. (The number of persons in this category of messes account for 60 percent of all persons in the army.)

2. Personnel in category 2 messes: support fendui directly under special artillery regiments, special repair fendui, and survey technical fendui; fendui training in the field, and field oil pipeline fendui and engineer camouflage fendui during the period they are carrying out their mission; platoon bridge fendui in units below the army level during the period they are conducting pontoon bridge training or carrying out pontoon bridge-laying missions; full-time guard fendui and full-time workers during a long period of working in underground projects (the specific units are deterred by the logistics departments of military regions and service arms and by the management bureaus of general headquarters); 20 men working in scattered fendui below the company level or a small number of fighters below the level of two organic squads (including cadres taking their meals with the fighters, but excluding personnel in military industry and in agricultural and sideline production); and 20 men or a small number of fighters below the level of two organic squads who are scattered in the organization and cannot have an independent mess but must take their meals in the cadre mess.

3. Personnel in category 3 messes: special swimming training fendui during their period of swimming training and students in swiming backbone element training classes run by units at the division level and above; combat fendui below the battalion level in special artillery regiments; armored infantry companies with armored vehicles and command companies with tanks and armored vehicles (when the company organizes a unified mess); ship (boat) repair fendui; and students in bugler training classes run by units at the regiment level and above.

4. Personnel in category 4 messes: tank and self-propelled gun repair fendui.

5. Personnel in category 5 messes: tank and self-propelled gun fendui and students in tank crew training bases (regiments); crews of inland waters flotillas and personnel accompanying the flotillas to perform missions (their standards are those of ground zhongdui stationed locally, and they are determined by the logistics departments of military regions and service arms); and students in sports backbone elements training classes run by units at the division level and above.

6. Personnel in messes for injured and sick personnel; injured and sick personnel and convalescing personnel in hospitals (including division hospitals and regiment sanitariums) and sanitariums.

D. Different Standards for Units Stationed on Border Defense, Islands, and Plateaus and Organization Messes

1. Units and organizations:

a. For those stationed on border defense, islands, and other special regions where living conditions are arduous, there are army service category 2 messes.

b. For those stationed on border defense, islands, and plateaus where weather conditions are poor and living conditions are arduous, there are army service category 3 messes.

c. For those in plateau regions, where the air is thin and weather conditions are poor, there are army service category 5 messes.

2. Operational service stations (observation, signal, communications, radar, and technical reconnaissance stations):

a. For operational service stations stationed on large islands and on coastal salients and coastal mountains, there are army service category 2 messes.

b. For operational service stations stationed in category 3 mess areas and which operate all year round on plateaus and in tunnels, there are army service category 3 messes.

The logistics departments of military regions determine the abovementioned areas of mess category with the approval of the heads of the armies in the miltary region. Among them, areas for plateau category 3 messes should generally be where the plateau is 3,500 meters of higher, and areas for plateau category 5 messes should generally be where the plateau is 4,000 meters or higher. All other units (fendui) that are stationed with border defense units will have the same area mess facilities.

For other border defense first-line companies, when they are on patrol, concealing themselves, or making on-the-spot surveys, there is an additional allowance (0.4 yuan in Renminbi per person per day). Units stationed on border defense sentry posts on plateaus 4,000 meters above sea level and higher, and units and organizations stationed on plateaus 4,500 meters above

sea level and higher, get an allowance per person per day of 2 liang of fruit, 2 qian of edible oil, and 2 qian of white sugar.

E. Mess Standards for Construction Units

1. When they are engaged in surface construction in an army service category 1 area, they are given army service category 2 messes. If they are engaged in construction inside caves, they are given army service category 3 messes.

2. For units engaged in construction in army service category 2 areas, there are army service category 3 messes. If they are doing construction inside caves they are given army service category 4 messes.

3. For units engaged in construction in army service category 3 mess areas there are army category 4 messes. If they are engaged in construction inside caves, they are given category 5 messes.

4. The mess arrangements for units engaged in construction in plateau category 5 mess areas remain unchanged, but there is an allowance per person per day of 2 liang of fruit, 2 qian of edible oil, and 2 qian of white sugar.

5. During the construction, there is an allowance person per day of 2 liang of supplied rations, with the proportion in variety set by the basic ration.

F. Food Rations and Mess Fund Standards for Students in Army Academies and Colleges and in Academies and Colleges of the Same Nature as the Former

1. Mess standards:

a. Army service category 2 messes: students in army schools; students in political or logistics schools; students in foreign language, military medical, or veterinarian colleges; and students in command and specialized technical colleges for branches and arms of the service at general headquarters (not including students in colleges that have army service category 3 messes or higher). Students in higher army schools get an additional allowance (before 1985 it was 0.05 yuan Renminbi per person per day; now it is 0.1 yuan).

b. Army service category 3 messes: students in military, political, or logistics colleges; students studying Second Artillery Corps specialities in related colleges.

c. Army service category 4 messes: students in armored corps colleges and armored corp technical colleges (when they are studying foundation courses in college classes they are given army service category 2 messes).

d. Army service category 5 messes: students in tank schools and armored corps technical colleges; students in military sports colleges (the standards for students in the sports department are the same as those for specialized physical work teams).

e. For art colleges they are army service category 2, 3, and 4 messes, and they are differentiated as follows: for students and creative studies personnel in literature, fine arts painting, and cadre refresher courses, there are army service category 2 messes; for students in traditional opera, stage, fine arts, and dance and fine arts courses, and groups and members of bands (excluding wind bands), there are army service category 3 messes; and for students of the dance and wind music and for members of bands and wind bands, there are army service category 4 messes.

2. Food Rations

a. A total of 45 jin per person per month (15 liang per day): students of army schools and higher army schools; students in specialized technical schools of general headquarters and of the branches and arms of the service (excluding students in college and schools that get a ration of 40 jin); students in chemical defense, ordnance technical, and sports colleges; and sports instructors in all colleges and schools.

b. A total of 40 jin per person per month (13 liang per day): students in political, logistics, and signal communications schools; students in foreign languages, military medical, and meteorological colleges; and students in command and specialized technical colleges of the general headquarters and the branches and arms of the service (excluding college students who get the 45-jin ration).

c. A total of 35 jin per person per month (1.5 liang per day): students in military, political, and logistics colleges.

Note: Instructors and student class cadres of colleges and schools get the same food rations as the students.

IV. Confused State of Mess Management

Although the communist army has formulated rules for mess standards, because of the long period that it has been in the plight of materiel deficiency, coupled with the fact that cadres are corrupt and there is embezzlement at all levels, the mess quality of the great number of basic-level units has never been able to attain the stipulated standards. In recent years because of the effect of skyrocketing prices on the communist army, the units' mess standards have fallen even further. Especially after the "streamlining and reorganization," with the abolishment of deputy posts for cadres in battalions and companies, the company quartermaster posts being filled by volunteer soldiers, and the pounding taken by cadres faced with separation or retirement, the majority of them are dissatisfied with their jobs, causing the confused situation in which there are "hanging gaps" in basic-level logistics building. In particular, the abuses engendered by the mess problem are serious. The situation is briefly related below.

A. Exchanging Views on the So-Called "One and a Half Jin Plus Four Liang"

Although in recent years the communist army's mess expense standards have been adjusted several times, they are still extremely limited and have never been

able to keep up with the rise in prices. In addition, the basic-level cadres have privately "used economic means to manage units," going in a big way for "local policies" that "get money by improper means from the fighters themselves." The mess officers "have pay not worth seeing," "make duplicate applications for reimbursement of purchased articles," and "use public office for private gain." Provisioners use false receipts to report fewer and get more mess expenses through graft. These and other prevailing unhealthy tendencies have caused laxness in basic-level mess management and confusion in the order of those taking meals in messhalls, with the result that the soldiers' camps are insufficiently provided for, seriously affecting the study, training, and work of the communist army's units.

In March 1985, the communist army's "General Logistics Department" held a "conference of all supply office chiefs in the army," and, focusing on the units' mess problem, said: "We must concretely immplement the mess management system, strengthen the management of funds and of staple and nonstaple foodstuffs, and correct the unhealthy tendencies of embezzling mess expenses and of encroaching on the soldiers' interests." It revealed serious malpractices in the communist army's basic-level units, and they are unable to coordinate with the demands for "armed forces modernization": From August to October of the same year, the communist army's "General Logistic Department's" director, Hong Xuezhi [3163 1331 2535], inspected the coastal defense units of the "Shenyang" and "Jinan" military regions and the logistics units of the "Wuhan Military Region." As a result, he discovered the malpractices that in all the units the use of income from agricultural and sideline production was irrational, and that the proportion of this income used to improve the units' life was irrational. (After the Chinese communists began from 1980 to take measures to reduce military expenditures, the Military Commission of the CPC Central Committee ordered the army to begin, with forms of self-reliance, agricultural and sideline production and business to collect "family property" bit by bit--"which means the surplus kept by the units in all previous years. It is composed of two parts. One part is the budget outlay surplus transformed "with 1 year as the limit; the other part is extra-budget income obtained by the units themselves, 'like production incomes or unit miscellaneous income.' The army regards this 'family property' as its reserve financial resources. Under the premise of reducing military expenditure, it is needed to supplement a given year's financial resources and to deal with emergency situations." (It makes up for insufficiencies in funds for building the armed forces' basic level and improves the units' supply of daily necessities.) Soon afterward, from 5 to 9 October, the communist army held an "all-army conference of logistics department directors." At the conference, Yang Shangkun [2799 1424 2494], vice chairman of the communist army's [as published] Central Military Commission, stressed that "income must be increased and expenditures must be decreased. In arranging the units' production and life, production income should mainly be used to improve the life of the soldiers and the basic-level cadres." This showed that there was serious waste of the communist army's production income and that they were not yet used for welfare allowances in basic-level companies. Obviously, the chain reaction touched off by the lack of care for life in the basic-level companies of the communist army has had a profound effect, forcing the communist army's leadership stratum to give it their full attention.

On 25 October 1985, Hong Xuezhi, director and concurrently political commissar of the communist army's General Logistics Department, publicly confessed: "At present, in accordance with existing standards, units at all levels--no matter whether for grain, vegetables, edible oil, or meat--need subsidies. Especially during the current adjustment of prices, with the mess expenses of the units they are often unable to purchase the stipulated food rations, causing a large-scale drop in standards." He also stressed: "The units are now relying on the method of walking on 'two legs' to solve the mess problem: one 'leg' is, in line with what is permitted by their funds, to raise as much as possible the mess expense standards; and the other 'leg' is for each unit to vigorously develop agricultural and sideline production in an effort to solve the problem itself." At the same time he said: "The results of agricultural and sideline production by units at all levels should mainly be used to improve life in the units, especially the life of basic-level cadres and fighters, so as to gradually attain the standard in which every person every day eats 1 liang of meat, 1 liang of bean products, 1 liang of poultry, fish, or eggs, and 1 jin of vegetables." Subsequently the "all-army work conference on production and business income" held by the communist army from 4 to 12 November formally stipulated that "70 percent of production income should be used to subsidize life in basic-level companies, and secondarily to subsidize insufficiencies in operating expenses." It also drew up the plan for the army within this year (1986) to build 72 medium-sized and large specialized aquatic breeding bases with the hope of being able to rely on the method of walking on "two legs" to attain the supply goal of relying on "itself" to solve the mess problem.

In December 1985, an "all-army logistics work conference," formally made the decision "to achieve the nonstaple food supply goal of "1 and one-half jin plus 4 liang per person within 2 or 3 years," and called for "insuring that each cadre and soldier eat each day "1 and one-half jin of vegetables, 1 liang of meat, 1 liang of bean products, 1 liang of poultry, fish, or eggs, and 1 liang of animal or vegetable oil."

B. Adjustment of Mess Expense Standards

It is reported that to attain the goal of "1 and one-half jin plus 4 liang" a minimum subsidy of 0.3 yuan from production income must be given to each cadre and soldier per day, and also that the army service category 1 messes, which account for 60 percent of the total, must, on the existing basis, be raised two mess grades.

Beginning in 1986, focusing on the goal set forth by the "General Logistics Department," all large units in the communist army formulated plans to achieve it and organized forces to start work on it. At the same time, the communist army's "General Logistics Department" sent work teams to do "Nanjing and Shenyang" military regions, where they organized experimental points and gave concrete guidance. According to a 28 January 1986 report in RENMIN QIANXIAN BAO, on 1 January 1986 the "Nanjing Military Region" raised its mess expenses for soldiers: all army service category 1 messes were given an additional 0.21 yuan in Renminbi per person per day, so that the minimum mess expense reached 1.15 yuan; for units on offshore islands and in areas where life was difficult, there was an increase of 0.51 yuan per person per day, so that the

mess expense reached 1.76 yuan; for injured and sick personnel and recuperating personnel in hospitals, except for those hospitals that had category 5 messes, there was an increase in mess expense of 0.61 yuan per person per day so that the mess expense reached 2.34 yuan; and after the mess standards were raised, cadres who took their meals with the soldiers got 0.5 yuan per person per day in accordance with the original regulations.

According to a 7 February 1986 report in the communist army's RENMIN WUJING BAO, based on a decision by the CPC Central Committee's Military Commission, the people's armed police units adjusted their mess expenses of each category on 1 January 1986. The adjusted standards are:

1. All categories of mess expenses contain meat price subsidies and grain vouchers (including the increased grain vouchers that the units had in the past). For cadres and establishment staff that do not have separate messes, meat price subsidies are issued in line with their wages under the existing standards.

2. For students in colleges and schools that have army service category 2 messes, the mess expense studied is fixed on the basis of the existing armed service category 2 mess standards, and there is a subsidy of 0.5 yuan per person per day. There is no subsidy for students in colleges and schools with other categories of messes. For students in local colleges and schools in the three municipalities of Beijing, Tianjin, and Shanghai, if the meat price subsidy is of a higher standard than that in the unit, they will get the subsidy at the local standard. The mess expense standard for students in training units and rotational training units is that of colleges or schools of the same nature.

3. The mess expenses for injured and sick personnel and recuperating personnel in people's armed police hospitals (including clinics and medical units) are fixed on the basis of the existing army service category 5 messes, and also there is a subsidy of 0.6 yuan per person per day.

4. Based on the armed forces' principle of dividing mess expenses into category areas, the mess expenses for each zhongdui is determined by its own category area of mess expenses. The mess expense standards of colleges, schools, and units directly under a zongdui, and the mess expense standards of people's armed police units in hydroelectric, communications, and gold [as published] command posts, are fixed in accordance with the regulations of the provincial (city, district) people's armed police zongdui.

The communist army's "General Logistics Department" also issued a notice stipulating that the mess standard of recruits during their training in coaching regiments be raised to that of "army service category 2 messes," and that the "lowest class area" be increased from the original 1.15 yuan to 1.28 yuan; while the "highest class area" be increased from the original 1.8 yuan to 1.93 yuan.

C. Demand for Strengthening the Units' Mess Management

In the last part of January 1986, the communist army's "three general departments" jointly issued a directive on "strengthening the units' mess management." Focusing on the shortcomings in the armed forces' mess management work, the directive set forth provisions related to the management, and called on leading cadres at all levels to regard good mess management as an important task to be done. The important points in the directive include:

1. "Leaders and headquarters, political and logistics organizations of units are required to work in unison on mess management. In a company or basic-level unit one leader must take charge of the mess, and he must select the noncommissioned officers, provisioners, and cooks for the mess. Their ideological education must be enhanced so that they become very familiar with their profession, abide by law and discipline, and dare to resist unhealthy tendencies."

2. "Get a good grip on the implementation of all mess management systems, that is, insist on the recipe formulation, kitchen duty and help in the mess kitchen, material objects check and acceptance, day-by-day consumption registration, dietary hygiene, and other systems."

3. "Uphold the three "not permits," namely, do not permit the purchase by soldiers of staple and nonstaple foodstuffs from the supplies of the mess units, do not permit the use of mess expenses and production income for entertaining guests and sending presents, and do not permit the use of mess expenses for non-mess expenditures. The management of nonstaple foodstuffs and vegetable procurement must truly be enhanced. The system of economic committee meetings must be perfected, and there must be regular examinations of accounts with the results announced monthly.

4. "Agricultural and sideline production must be vigorously enhanced, so as within 2 or 3 years the nonstaple foodstuff supply goal of '1 and one-half jin plus 4 liang' is attained. Units at the regiment level and above must withdraw some funds and use them to help solve the problem of complete sets of production and living facilities at the basic level."

5. "Production income must be rationally used. Except for income that is now set for use in repaying loans and expanding production, this income should mainly be used to improve the life of the soldiers and the basic-level units. Sparetime production income must only be used to improve messes.

D. Distortion and Deterioration of "1 and one-half Jin Plus 4 Liang"

After the communist army's "General Logistics Department" set forth for the entire army the goal of achieving "1 and one-half jin plus 4 liang" within 2 or 3 years, during the process of trying to do this by units at all levels in the communist army, there appeared in them a vying for "luck" and a pursuit of "trends," and a proneness for being flashy and without substance, seeking undeserved reputations, and making boasts and exaggerating things. The relevant situation as revealed solely by the Chinese communists' JIEFANGJUN BAO is described briefly as follows:

1. On 15 March of this year (1986), this newspaper reported: During their work to achieve "1 and one-half jin plus 4 liang," in the armed forces there appeared, in order to vie for "luck," the phenomenon at all levels of "goal attainments" ahead of time. When the General Headquarters' goal of attaining "1 and one-half jin plus 4 liang" within 2 or 3 years arrived in the subordinate levels they put the time ahead. The armies made it 1 year, the divisions and regiments made further demands, and the battalions and companies whittled the time down to several months. The higher levels raised the quotas layer by layer and the basic-level companies boasted and exaggerated. The 1st Company of a certain battalion said it would attain the goal in 6 months, the 2d company of the battalion made it 5 months, and some units crisply announced: "We've already attained the goal." An investigation showed that they had adopted the method of "killing the goose that lays the golden egg," taking out surplus that had been accumulated over the years and funds for developing reproduction to buy "1 and one-half jin plus 4 liang."

2. On the same day the newspaper came up with another revelation: The companies of a certain group army had surplus mess expenses that they did not have the right to use. Since they were unable to use the surplus, they deposited it in a bank acocunt at book value. The reason they did have any money on hand to spend was that the regiment controlled the right to use the money. The regiment said that the division had not allocated the money. An investigation showed that the regiment had grabbed part of it and that the division had also misappropriated a part. As a result, the companies had money but could not spend it, their bank deposit turned into a "flower in the mirror," and "1 and one-half jin plus 4 liang" became an empty slogan.

3. On 20 March the newspaper pointed out: In the units of the communist army's "Nanjing Military Region," during the process of achieving "1 and one-half jin plus 4 liang" there exist the following problems:

a. Because of overanxiousness for quick results, there have appeared symptoms of setting unrealistically high quotas and short times.

b. By making a rash advance in an individual project, the units neglected their overall construction, creating a terrific din, swarming in, and boasting and exaggerating.

c. They onesidedly emphasized production and life, slackened off on education and training, and contended with each other for time and people.

d. They thought that money was the key to achieving "1 and one-half jin plus 4 liang." In the name of working to help the people, some units tore down houses and dug up land for the localities and then demanded payment. On the pretext of cultivating dual-purpose talents, some units sent soldiers out to repair clocks and watches and electrical appliances in order to get income. Some companies even opened shops and set up stalls, and sent fighters to run about and engage in supply and marketing. Military and political education and training and the normal work of the units were adversely affected, and the armed forces' reputation was tarnished.

V. Currently Existing Problems

A. Problems in Basic-Level Logistics

The problems existing in the communist army's basic-level logistics are extremely serious. A fairly typical case was published by the Chinese communists' JIEFANGJUN BAO on 18 March 1986, a summary of which follows:

A "survey of a hundred companies" conducted on more than 220 companies by the Logistics Department of the communist army's "Beijing Military Region" discovered that the true situation in current building of logistics at the communist army's basic level was that "there were fewer successes than had been reported and more problems than had been imagined." According to this department's comprehensive survey report, the principal problems were:

1. The mess standards were low and the variety in meals was monotonous: in some companies, only 0.73 yuan was spent per person per day on meals, 25.5 percent below the standard; and no attention was paid to adjusting the mess, with the result that for several months there were no steamed stuffed buns and dumplings to eat, and on many days the nonstaple foodstuffs were basically "first, native (beans); second, foreign (cabbage); and third, radishes."

2. The living facilities were not formed into complete sets, and there was a serious loss of public property: in 90 companies, 8,568 pieces of barracks furnishings were counted as missing, 37.7 percent of the total that there should have been. For example, the 1st Artillery Company of a certain regiment had been allocated 96 wooden benches a year ago, but only 27 remained. The soldiers had to stand while eating and to sit on cotton shoes and bricks when holding meetings or viewing motion pictures.

3. Medical facilities were extremely poor, and it was difficult for a soldier to see a doctor or get medicines. For example, of the four battalion medical stations in a certain regiment, three of them did not have sphygmomanometers. A spot check of 48 companies showed that their hygiene management did not meet requirements, and the sterilization of eating utensils and drinking water was not done strictly, thus adversely affecting the soldiers' health.

4. Rules and regulations were not enforced strictly and management was full of holes. In the first half of 1985, a rocket gun company of a certain regiment wrote 195 receipts, but nobody checked and signed for a total of more than 4,300 yuan.

Logistics personnel did not understand their specialities: in the companies the majority of armorers, medics, cooks, and drivers did not have an intimate knowledge of their occupations. For example, of the 28 mess officers in a certain regiment, 16 were new soldiers with less than 2 years of service, and they did not understand how to draw up company mess account tables for public inspection.

B. Crux of the Problems of Basic-Level Logistics

In the communist army's basic-level units, there exist many malpractices left over by tradition. In recent years, because of the pounding by sudden changes in the social structure and the armed forces' streamlining and reorganization, these malpractices have worsened day by day. Here I will briefly describe the fairly universal situation. According to what was revealed by the Chinese communists' JIEFANGJUN BAO on 30 April of this year (1986), the main reason that the problems in the communist army's basic-level companies are hard to solve are:

1. "Soldiers in the flow" are not "guests who pass by": because of the units' streamlining and reorganization and other reasons, the fluidity of basic-level cadres and soldiers has increased. Company commanders and political instructors change frequently, and the soldiers are demobilized when their term of active service is up. Under these circumstances, there is engendered in company building the idea of temporarily coping with things, an idea which holds that a company is not a place where one stays for a long time and that to go to great trouble in a company is a case of "making bridal gowns for other people." Thus, the slogan "make the company a home" stirs nobody, leading company management to become more slack each day.

2. Consumption is stressed, and extravagance and waste are caused: on the pretext of improving material and cultural life at the basic level, clubs were decorated with lanterns and colored streamers, hanging lamps and ceiling fans were hung in small conference rooms, folding chairs were provided to receive guests, and pots of flowers were placed in living quarters. Some companies bought cotton blankets, umbrellas, and cloth for the fighters, emulating with each other in this respect. This money-spending style had greatly lowered the payout capacity of the companies' funds, with the result that there has been a "tearing down of the east wall to repair the west wall"--a resort to makeshift solutions--which has created many deficiencies in living conditions. Mess personnel do not have the idea of thrift; in some companies, water faucets are turned on day and night without anybody bothering to turn them off, wasting as much as a dozen tons of water a day. With the reason of "suiting the material and cultural life characteristics of the soldiers of the eighties," there is even a blind pursuit of the fashionable lifestyle of "eating well and playing well." This not only has caused many holes in the use of company funds, but also has encouraged even trends and has seriously polluted the ideas and feelings of the cadres and fighters.

3. "Having rules" is incapable of stopping "breaking rules": many companies hang on their walls "the five systems for messhall management" and "the criteria for comparing and assessing advanced messhalls," but mess accounts are still in a mess and kitchen duty exists in name only. In fact, there are rules and regulations for the basic-level management system in the communist army, but the rules are not observed and the regulations are not implemented--they are of no use. Again, the corrosive influence on the armed forces exerted by unhealthy trends in society is also a reason that the rules and regulations in the companies are not implemented and that there are many holes in management. Evil trends have corrupted the thinking of many people. For example, in order to get transferred to volunteer soldier status, a mess squad

leader on over 10 occasions took out more than 100 jin of rice, flour, chicken, fish, meat, and eggs in order to make connections and get in by the back door. This situation has appeared not because no "rules" have been set up but because the rules are not observed.

C. Unhealthy Trends Run Rampant

1. The Thinking and Ideas of the Communist Army's Basic-Level Cadres

The bad atmosphere brought by the Chinese communists' economic reforms has had a very big effect on the basic-level cadres in the armed forces, the prominent manifestations of which are: the practices of cadres' eating and taking more than their share, sending soldiers to handle their private affairs, having the idea of the "old boy network," and practicing fraud and deceit are fairly rife. To stop these unhealthy trends, the higher level's headquarters, political and logistics organizations have made rule like the "seven impermissibles" and "eight musts." However, many unhealthy trends at the basic level are cases of "checking one gust and stopping one gust" but not stopping the "wind" from blowing. The thinking and ideas of the ordinary cadre in the communist army now are in outline like this: the cadre thinks that to use his power of office to seek private gain, to eat and take more than his share, and to encroach on the fighters' interests are a case of "if you have power and don't use it, it becomes invalid after a specified date." When the cadre receives presents from soldiers, he thinks that they are a token of the fighters' confidence in and respect for him. When the cadre sends soldiers to handle his private affairs, he thinks that this is in the mutual interest of the officers and men. When he stresses the idea of the "old boy network," he thinks it is a case of "comrades being on very intimate terms with each other." When he practices fraud and deceit, he thinks that if he were to speak the truth and report the actual situation he would get a "dressing down," and that if he were boldly to speak the truth he would be a simpleton. (1) (Chinese communists' JIEFANGJUN BAO [LIBERATION ARMY DAILY], 13 Feb 1986).

B. Widespread Phenomena of Law Breaking by Cadres of the Communist Army: They curse and inflict corporal punishment on soldiers, encroach on the soldiers' personal rights, and insult their character; they secretly open the soldiers' letters, encroach on the soldier's economic interests, and receive presents from soldiers, taking bribes in disguised form; and they neglect their duties, retaliate, and write anonymous letters to lodge false accusations.

C. Illegal or Criminal Phenomena by Soldiers in the Communist Army: They go AWOL or evade military service; they form bands to fight and brawl; they privately store up weapons and ammunition; and they disobey orders and wilfully make trouble. (2) (JIEFANGJUN BAO [LIBERATION ARMY DAILY], 16 Apr 1986).

VI. Conclusion

In September 1981, after Deng Xiaoping set forth the policy of "modernization and regularization" in building the armed forces, the Military Commission of

the CPC Central Committee in succession revised and promulgated the "three major regulations," demanding that the units and organizations in their day-to-day work "handle matters in accordance with the rules and regulations." However, because of the Chinese communists' overanxiousness to reforms the socialist system, which was on the verge of collapse, they paid excessive attention to the change in their strategic policy and neglected the building of the armed forces' basic level. Especially, with the disruption caused by a series of policies and tasks--"curtail military expenditure," "develop production and business," "streamline and reorganize," "train dual-purpose talents," "support economic construction," and "jointly build spiritual civilization"--the armed forces were too busy to pay attention to their own regular development. In addition, the cadres and soldiers at the communist army's basic level have been deeply influenced by the bad atmosphere in society. With the suffering of their arduous life and the enticements of material incentives, the idea of liberalization has been widely engendered among them. They disregard the "rules and regulations" and their concept of discipline is faint, causing malpractices to multiply in the building of the armed forces' basic level. Recently the communist army put stress on "how to implement rules and regulations at the basic level and how to strengthen the building of regularization at the basic level" in an attempt to get a tight grip on basic-level building so as to coordinate it with the modernization of the armed forces. The abovementioned signs alone show that the problems existing at the communist army's basic level are complex and that circumstances make it difficult for the army to achieve what it wants. The Chinese communists themselves have admitted: At present "there is a lack of regulations for building the basic level, the links in work are not sound, the work procedures are not regular, there is a slackness in the companies' work style and discipline, there is a lack of rules and guarantees for the prevention of bad incidents and for the correction of unhealthy trends, management is improper, the relations between the higher and lower levels have deteriorated, and morale is low--all of which has adversely affected and weakened the building of the armed forces' basic level." This is sufficient to show that at the present stage the building of the communist army's basic level not only has bogged down but has even produced a negative effect.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

BLACK HAWK USED IN SICHUAN RESCUE

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Nov 86 p 1

[Article by Yue Lincai [1471 2651 2088]: "Chengdu Military Region Air Force Dispatches 'Black Hawk' To Rescue Injured "]

[Excerpts] Chengdu, 1 November: This morning at 0630, "Black Hawk" helicopter No 5656 of a certain transport regiment in the Chengdu MR Air Force picked up three injured civilians in Dianjiang Xian and carried them to Chongqing Municipal Hospital for treatment.

On 30 October at about 1500, a Dianjiang Xian passenger bus caught fire after a gunpowder explosion, injuring 63 passengers. Two people died and three were in critical condition. When the Sichuan Provincial People's Government received a call reporting the emergency, they immediately asked Chengdu MR Air Force leaders for help early this morning. At 0400, "Black Hawk" helicopter No 5656 was prepared for take-off. Visibility was only 1 kilometer. Without waiting for the weather to improve, Commander Liu Jianhua [0491 1696 5478], pilot Dong Shengli [5516 0524 0448], and navigator Li Jin'an [2621 6855 1344] took off at 0630. With superhuman bravery, intelligence, determination, and skill, the flight crew smoothly carried the three injured to the Chongqing Municipal Hospital after a difficult flight of almost 5 hours and over 1,000 kilometers.

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GUANGZHOU MOTORIZED INFANTRY DIVISION TACTICAL TRAINING

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO OVERSEAS EDITION in Chinese 19 Sep 86 p 4

[Article: "Army's Training System Daily Becoming More Scientific; Combined Arms Training Reaching a High Level"]

[Text] In the Xianhe year of the Eastern Jin Dynasty, General Ge Hong, who was skilled in both literature and military strategy, came to the "first mountain in the area south of the Five Ridges [the area covering Guangdong and Guangxi]" in Guangdong to "discuss the classics and talk about the Way." On the 17th of this month, more than 100 experts from the Chinese armed forces also came here, this time to observe a live exercise in combined arms tactics by a motorized infantry division of the Guangzhou Military Region.

Observing this live combined exercise were: PLA Chief of Staff Yang Dezhi [2799 1779 1807]; PLA Deputy Chief of Staff Han Huaizhi [7281 2037 2535]; and leaders at all levels as well as training department personnel who were attending the all-PLA on-the-spot study meeting on the reform of combined arms tactical training.

JIEFANGJUN BAO said that in this exercise the motorized infantry division was complete in organizations, complete in service arms, and complete in systems of organization. The division- and regiment-level microcomputers and facsimile machines and the artillery rapid reaction command system formed a linked-up network from top to bottom. Following the sound of keys, telephones, and radios, commands and orders were swiftly transmitted to the combat units of all arms. The staff officers, clerks, and assistants sat in front of microcomputers, pressing keys to make tactical calculations and to draw up and transmit dispatches. The motorized infantry, tanks, armored vehicles, chemical defense soldiers, signalmen, as well as logistics men taking part in the exercise coordinated smoothly. The training experts who observed the exercise said that its success indicates that our army's combined arms tactical training has already reached a high level. As of now, on the basis of the reform of the past individual and fendui training, there has been formed a fairly scientific system for army training.

Liu [0491], the general director of the exercise and the chief of staff of a certain group army, told reporters: Since the beginning of this year, we have received from the higher level the task of making training reforms in

combined arms tactics. Through experiments and exploration, the division has obtained three results: First, it has reformed its training content, breaking away from the training structure in which all the arms formed their own systems, and forming a system in which the training content is interchangeable for all arms in the Army. Second, it has reformed its training methods by adopting the method of "three completes and one less" (complete organizations, complete service arms, complete systems of organization, and less live soldier and actual equipment), drawing a path for organizations to streamline, effect economic savings, and become fit for actual combat. Third, it has reformed its command procedures, command instruments, and battle dispatches; has changed the headquarters' backkward mode of manual operations; and has initially achieved rapid command.

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JILIN MSD EXCHANGES FIELD ARMY CADRES

Shenyang DONGBEI MINBING [NORTHEAST MILITIA] in Chinese No 7, 4 Jul 86 p 14

[Article by Li Guangwu [2621 1684 2976], Wang Laichun [3769 0171 2504], and Zhang Fujun [1728 4395 6511]: "Controlling Ideology, Setting Examples in Professions, and Inquiring About Living Conditions"]

[Text] Since last year Jilin Military Subdistrict and all its subordinate county and district people's armed forces departments have received 57 cadres from field units as exchanges. They have put stress on doing good work on these cadres in three respects: ideological, professional, and life. On 2 April, the Jilin Provincial Military District transmitted their experiences.

Concern for ideology: For cadres who have been transferred from field units to work in the people's armed forces system, there have been changes in work objects, conditions, and environment. So that their thinking will be stable and they will keep their minds on their work at the people's armed forces front, the leaders of the military subdistrict and its people's armed forces departments have paid attention to focusing on their ideological reality. Doing thorough and painstaking ideological and political work, they have educated them to firmly establish the idea of ardently loving and doing well their people's armed forces work. The wife of Zhang Yuntong [1728 6663 6639], a cadre exchanged from Unit 81021, works in the Baishan Hydroelectric Station. Although he has returned to the people's armed forces in his hometown, the couple still lives in two places. He once intended to transfer to civilian work. Tang Guangli [3282 1684 4409], political commissar of the military subdistrict, had a heart-to-heart talk with him, stressing the importance of strengthening the building of national defense forces. This made him strengthen his sense of honor about doing good militia work. He gave up his original idea and made an effort to study assiduously the profession of militia work. He is now doing fairly outstandiing work.

Passing on experience and setting examples in professions. They have paid attention to passing on experience, helping, and setting an example for the exchanged cadres, so that the latter will as fast as possible master the skills of militia work. Li Yanwen [2621 1750 2429], staff officer of the Longtan District People's Armed Forces Department, used to be an artillary company commander in a certain unit. After being transferred to his new unit, he began to feel that he could not get up the enthusiasm needed for the work.

Nie Gentian [5119 2704 3944], head of the military section, had him investigate and study the militia's military training in seven factories. He quickly became familiar with the situation and played his role.

Consideration and care in life. The exchanged cadres have some actual difficulties in life. The leader of the military subdistrict and its people's armed forces departments have treated them the same as their own cadres. Without delaying or procrastinating, they have solved by all ways and means the problems that could be solved. With regard to housing and some other problems that for a time cannot be solved, they have made plans and arrangements and are vigorously thinking of ways to help solve them.

Because the Jilin Military Subdistict and its county and district people's armed forces departments have shown concern for their ideology, given guidance in their professions, and given consideration to their life, the exchanged cadres have even more kept their minds on people's armed forces work, and are devoting themselves heart and mind to contribute their own strength to the building of national defense reserve forces.

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LIUZHOU RESERVE ARTILLERY ON GUANGXI BORDER

Guangzhou MINBING SHENGHUO [MILITIA LIFE] in Chinese No 6, 5 Jun 86 pp 2-3

[Article by Bang Men [6721 7024], Liao Xuan [2436 6513], and Bao Ku [1405 1685]: "Displaying Martial Prowess by Winning Its First Battle; Account of First Operation Against Vietnam by 1st Howitzer Company of Liuzhou Reserve Division"]

[Text] On 17 March, the county seat of Luzhai County in Guangxi was decorated with red silk and was extraordinarily lively. Ten thousand of the masses had come to welcome the triumphant return from the frontline of reserve warriors. In front of flowers and relatives were the 93 officers and men of the 1st Howitzer Company of the Liuzhou Reserve Division, who for the first time had taken part in an operation to punish the Vietnamese Army. Before their eyes, which were brimming with tears, there seemed to appear those days and nights that would be hard to forget....

The Bugle Sounds--They Rapidly Assemble and Rush to the Battlefield

There were still 3 days before the end of the lunar year and precisely at this time the Reserve Artillery Regiment of Luzhai County received an order from the higher level: On the eve of the Lantern Festival, the 1st Howitzer Company is to move out to the Guangxi frontline to perform an operational mission to punish the Vietnamese Army. Military orders are like mountains, and they brook no delay. The regiment immediately issued this order to all the officers and men of the howitzer company.

After the order had been issued, the regiment commander's mind was unsettled, as if he was drawing water with 15 buckets--seven up and eight down. He worried: On this day of jubilation when myriad families were happily getting together to ring out the old year and welcome the new, would these reserve fighters be able to come when they were summoned. Especially, the peasant masses, who always say that "if one doesn't celebrate the Lantern Festival one doesn't celebrate the new year," on this holiday every year, even if they were a thousand li away, would as much as possible hurry back to their families to celebrate the Lantern Festival with them, with the aim of having auspicious family reunions. At such a time, would they be able to leave their families? This time when the unit moved out to the front, it would be fighting the enemy with real guns and live shells. Would the parents, wives, and friends of the

reserve fighters hold them back?... Thinking of these things, Regiment Commander Yu [0060] could not sit still. Early on the morning of the lunar New Year's Day, amid the "pipipapa" sound of firecrackers, he and Ding [0002], the county party committee secretary, trod a path between townships....

Facts proved that Regiment Commander Yu's worries were uncalled-for. After they heard the news that they were to go to the frontline, there was a stir among the reserve fighters. They ran about spreading the news, regarding the fact they would be able to take part in this battle as the greatest honor of their life.

Fighter Liao Yongqiang [1675 0516 1730] of the driver squad is a former Air Force volunteer, and in December last year he had just been transferred to civilian employment. He had originally planned to get married on 16 January. Before the happy event came about, he received the order to take part in the battle. Liao Yongqiang was worthy of those who have come out of a military camp. He did not forget the bounden duty of an armyman, and he resolutely executed the order. After Chen Fengming [3088 7685 7686], his bride-to-be, learned of this, she was a little unhappy. Liao Yongqiang patiently explained things to her, saying with feeling: "Would you really welcome a coward, a deserter spurned by people?" Actually, Young Chen was an educated, politically conscious ardent youth who loved the motherland. It was only that she wanted to complete this important event in her life a little earlier and enjoy family happiness. Listening to her sweetheart, she suddenly saw the light. Exuding tenderness and love, she said: "I will be waiting for you to bring back from the battlefield a medal for military exploits, which will add joy to our wedding." Hearing this, Liao Yongqiang's face broadened into a sweet smile.

Neither Qin Shizhong [6009 0013 1813] nor Wei Bingyi [7279 3521 5902], two fellows of frail physique, were on the rolls. They helped out in the work of the district police station, and each one's monthly wage was more than 60 yuan. Their working and living conditions were comparatively comfortable. After they learned that the howitzer company was to go to the frontline, they each wrote a letter asking to take part in the battle, and every day they went to the district people's armed forces department and used soft and hard tactics to get to the frontline. To attain his aim of getting to the frontline, Ji Junrong [6060 6511 2737] of Zhutong Township used hard tactics when soft methods failed. When he was not given permission, he climbed into a truck and simply got himself put on the roll of those going to the frontline.

Busily Preparing for Battle--Practicing With "Sword and Spear" While on the March

The howitzer company sped along the highway.

Under the covering of his vehicle, as the sound of singing faded, Company Commander Lu Yuqi [7120 5940 3825] pulled out a military map and concentrated his attention on making estimations and drawing lines on the map. This layman, who before the company was assembled had not understood even one map, was clear about his own "foundation" and even more clear about his own status. As commander of a company and commander of its observation post, he had to act

as the good eyes for the company guns. If he didn't understand maps and didn't understand how to plot coordinates, how could he handle things? During the period that the units were being assembled, he received two invitations from a relative and a friend to their weddings. In order not to adversely affect the military training, he graciously declined. At that place, to decline an invitation meant that he was severing his relations with his relative and his friend. However, he thought: Didn't I act this way precisely so that thousands upon thousands of lovers could have harmonious unions and permanent happiness? He believed that in the end his relative and his friend would understand his actions.

Was Computerman Deng Shaozhang [6772 1421 1813], whose eyes were closed as he swayed with the vehicle he was riding in, sleeping? No, he was reciting from memory the "precision methods." Speaking of this computerman, during training he was truly indefatigable! At noon one day during the period of assembly, his father Deng Congkuan [6772 1783 1401] came from his township to see his son. When he entered through the door of his son's quarters he saw him lying on a bed sleeping, but his mouth was opening and closing without stop. Startled, he hurriedly called on him to wake up. He extended his hand and felt his son's forehead, asking: "Shaozhang, are you sick? Why does your mouth move when you are sleeping?" Hearing this, Dong Shaozhang was unable to hold back a laugh. He hastily explained: "Papa, I was reciting from memory calculation methods. Our company commander and the comrades of the command platoon all recite in this way." Hearing this, the old fellow smiled with understanding.

By comparison, the howitzer squad, wireless communications squad, and mess squad did not have the conditions for "training while on the move." Therefore, when the company arrived at its quarters, disregarding their fatique they made use of every bit of time to drill. The gunners passed heavy shells back and forth, loaded and unloaded them, drilling in one movement a hundred to a thousand times until their hands became calloused. The signalmen of the wired communications squad trained in paying out and gathering in communication lines. They ran until they were covered with sweat and rolled until they were covered with mud. Their hands were scratched and their legs bruised from falling, but they utterly disregarded such things. Although every time they came to a place they could borrow pots and stoves to prepare meals, the "kitchen police" of the mess squad made it hard on themselves by digging smoke stoves themselves, again and again shortening the field cooking time, so as to insure that each meal was served on time and that the food was tasty and delicious.

Building Field Works--Turning Sweat Into an Artillery Position

On 2 March, vehicles pulling big guns entered on time the position assigned to them by the higher level. This was a stretch of open terrain with hard ground. The fighters jumped out of their vehicles, unhitched the guns, and immediately rush-built field works, beginning the "battle" before the artillery action....

Mo Youhe [5459 2589 0735], the artillery regiment's deputy political commissar, who was accompanying them into battle, and the young fellows began

work, wielding picks as if they were flying. As time passed he felt he couldn't stand the pace. However, this thin and small director of the county party committee's organization department understood the weight of the words "be an exemplary model" for the fighters. Although his physical strength was poor and three blood blisters developed on his hands, he was unwilling to stop and catch his breath. Wei Xuanlong [7279 1357 7893], leader of the 2d Squad, developed four blood blisters on his hands, one of which broke and bled. After discovering this, a careful medic wanted to apply a little ointment. He not only would not let ointment be applied but also would not let the medic tell anyone about it.

The higher level had stipulated that the field works be built in 6 hours, but in only 3 hours they had finished building the three-dimensional field works. On the bunker walls, they mounted with white stones slogans such as "Win honor for reserve units," "Get the best battle results," and "Establish merit by killing enemies," representing the fighters' aspirations. At this time, the senior officers of the Guangxi Military District came up to ask questions. Senior officers of friendly nearby units, carrying videocorders, and newspaper reporters came up also. Seeing this group of lads bursting with energy, a senior officer of an artillery group praised them: "Oh, they are truly full of drive and daring! They look like a company that can fight!"

Then the comrades carrying cameras and videocorders hurriedly began to use them. With all their heart they took pictures, pictures of the beads of sweat ringing the faces of the gunners! They took as many pictures as they wanted, pictures of the fighters' strong and vigorous figures and their spirit of sharing bitter hatred of the enemy! However, they were asked to hold back some film for the moving scenes that would come later.

Roundly Thrashing the Enemy--Unrestrained Joy of the Artillery Fighters

Before the battle the artillery position was extraordinarily quiet. After the commander ordered the first batch of shells loaded, the gunners, in their spread-out stance, held their breath, each standing at his post like a statue. Their eyes were fixed on the position commander--Deputy Company Commander Tan Weizhong [6009 7279 1813]. Tan Weizhong had been an outstanding squad leader in a heroic artillery company that fought at Fakeshan. After being demobilized and returning to his hometown, he had once again come back to the frontline, shouldering the heavy responsibility of a position commander. At this moment his regular-featured long, square face was drawn tight, showing dignity and alertness. With his right hand he raised a small red flag, and his large, round eyes were intently fixed on a stopwatch he held in his left hand. The watch ticked off--3 second, 5 seconds, 10 seconds, 20 seconds .... He brought the small red flag down sharply and shouted, "Fire!" Four guns roared in unison. The position became wrapped in the billowing smoke of gunpowder. Not long afterward from a telephone's earphone came good news from the forward observation post: "Good hit. The first salvo covered the target everybody: "Comrades, you scored good hits! Two Vietnamese invaders have 'entered the Western Paradise'!" Immediately the entire position became animated. The tense feelings before the battle had long ago vanished. Each fighter fought at his post in an intense but orderly manner: aiming, loading,

and firing. Round after round of shells flew accurately and unerringly toward the enemy. When the observation post reported a second success--"Five Vietnamese soldiers have been covered by our shells"--the gunners of the 1st Squad could not refrain from jumping up and down. After the commander ordered them to adjust their rear sight, they sobered up and immediately got back in position, continuing to load and fire ....

The entire battle was declared over after only three and one-half minutes, with the good battle result of seven enemies killed, the greater part of the field works in the enemy position destroyed, and no casualties for us, singing a paean of the reserve unit's victory in its first battle.

After the artillery attack was over, officers and men of the frontline units praised the unit: "The reserve forces fought a splendid battle!" and "Don't look on them as a reserve unit; in fighting they are not inferior to us regular forces!" When political and military leaders, Chen Huiguang [7115 6540 0342], secretary of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region CPC Committee; Wei Chunshu [7279 4783 2631], chairman of the autonomous region government; and Li Xinliang [2621 2450 5528], commander, and Xiao Xuchu [5135 2485 0443], political commissar, of the Guangxi Military District, heard the news of the reserve artillery company's victory, they were very happy. While the company was on its way back from the frontline, they made a special trip to its camp to meet with all its officers and men. They urged them to conscientiously sum up their experiences and to perform new meritorious deeds in later battles.

We are proud of the honored reserve fighters!

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HUANGPU ACADEMY ALUMNI COUNCIL MEETING ENDS

OW140627 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1212 GMT 12 Nov 86

[By reporter He Ping]

[Text] Beijing, 12 Nov (XINHUA)--The second meeting (enlarged) of the Second Council of the Huangpu [Whampoa] Military Academy Alumni Association which ended here today expressed the hope that the academy's cadets and alumni at home and abroad will seek a common grounds, reserve differences on major issues, and work for the motherland's reunification despite their differences in ideology, political views, the systems of the societies they live in, and their life styles.

The meeting lasted 4 days, Hou Jingru, vice president of the Whampoa Academy Alumni Association, gave a summarization speech at today's meeting. He said: Today is the 120th anniversary of the birth of Sun Yat-sen, the great pioneer of the Chinese revolution, and the outstanding founder and commandant of the Huangpu Military Academy. Dr. Sun Yat-sen struggle his whole life for China's independence, freedom, and unification. We are very happy to see that his revolutionary aspirations have been realized under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. As his pupils, we feel extremely proud and honored. What is regrettable is that our country has not been unified. We firmly believe that the motherland's reunification will come true if compatriots at both sides of the strait followed Dr. Sun Yat-sen's teachings.

Today's meeting adopted resolutions on constructing a Huangpu Mansion, setting up a "Huangpu Journal" office, and posthumously appointing Comrade Tian Shen deputy secretary general and council member of the Huangpu Military Academy Alumni Association.

Today's meeting was presided over by Li Moan, vice president of the Huangpu Military Academy. Cheng Zhihua, Zheng Dongguo, and Song Xilian, vice presidents of the association, and 30 council members and representatives attended the meeting.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

HAINAN PLA SUPPORTS LOCALITIES--All air units of the naval force stationed in Hainan Region have vigorously supported economic construction in localities. According to incomplete statistics, since the beginning of this year they have sent some 800 motor vehicles to help localities transport some 5,000 tons of materials of all kinds and sent some 16,700 laborers to help localities reap industrial crops, build water construction projects, repair and build roads some 15,000 meters long, plant some 89,000 trees, and give medical treatment to some 15,600 people. They have also bravely helped localities rush to deal with emergencies by sending out some 120 sorties and rushed to rescue 51 people in distress and to transport some 800 tons of materials of all kinds. [Summary] [Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0400 GMT 21 Nov 86 HK] /8309

SHENYANG PLA HELICOPTER SERVICE--Shenyang, 7 Oct (XINHUA)--The Shenyang Military Region has started a helicopter service to border areas in northeast China on a trial basis. On 16 October, a helicopter landed at its first stop, the site of a border defense company in the northernmost village of Mohe. [Summary] [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0912 GMT 7 Oct 86 OW] /8309

TIANJIN COMMANDER INSPECTS ROAD CONSTRUCTION--On the morning of 22 October, responsible persons and working personnel of the headquarters for construction of the Tianjin perimeter road project under the PLA units stationed in Tianjin headed by Zheng Guozhong, commander of the Tianjin Garrison District; and Yang Zhihua, chief of staff of the district; went to the construction sites in the Dongjiao and Xijiao Districts where army, navy, air force, and armed police forces are engaged in construction work to inspect the construction situation. An on-the-spot meeting was held to define unified construction standards. The PLA units stationed in Tianjin and the armed police forces have undertaken the tasks of dredging rivers and repairing roads by filling the holes, totaling 5,270 meters in length, in Dongjiao and Xijiao Districts. Commander Zheng Guozhong called on soldiers in Tianjin to carry forward the spirit of diverting the Luan He waters to Tianjin and to go all out to make contributions to building a new Tianjin. [Excerpts] [Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Oct 86 p 1] /8309

MILITARY TRAINING SIMULATORS--Beijing, November 19 (XINHUA)--Chinese-made laser and electronic simulation training equipment has drawn the attention of foreign countries, the PEOPLE'S DAILY reported today. China has now produced simulation equipment of major weapons including small arms, tanks, armored cars, guided missiles, indirect fire artillery, fighter planes and anti-aircraft weapons. Some of the equipment, which originated in China, ranks among the most advanced

in the world. To date, more than 30 countries have shown interest in these laser and electronic simulation training devices, and a number of countries have asked to purchase technical data and videotapes of the simulation training. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0820 GMT 10 Nov 86] /8309

MARSHAL XU ADDRESSES HUANGPU ALUMNI—Beijing, November 9 (XINHUA)--Marshal Xu Xiangqian today urged the alumni of the Huangpu (Whampoa) Military Academy to work for China's reunification. At an enlarged council meeting of the Huangpu (Whampoa) Military Academy Alumni Association here today, Xu Xiangqian, who is vice-chairman of the Central Military Commission and president of the association, said that the Huangpu alumni should shoulder the historical task and accomplish something for China's reunification and national prosperity as Dr. Sun Yat-sen demanded. He also welcomed Huangpu alumni residing in Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan and foreign countries and their children and relatives to visit the mainland or conduct economic and cultural exchanges. Graduates from the academy made great contributions in China's democratic revolution and many of them became Kuomintang and communist party generals. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1213 GMT 9 Nov 86] /8309

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ENVOY TO WASHINGTON URGES TAIWAN TO REUNIFY

OW131010 Beijing XINHUA in English 0854 GMT 13 Nov 86

[Excerpts] Washington, 12 November (XINHUA)--China's ambassador to the United States called on the Taiwan authorities to accept national reunification in accordance with the unfulfilled will of Dr Sun Yat-sen, a forerunner of the Chinese revolution.

At a movie party at the Chinese embassy Tuesday, one of many activities across the country marking the 120th anniversary of the birth of Dr Sun, Ambassador Han Xu said a united motherland is Dr Sun's will.

During his life time, the great revolutionary repeatedly said that China was a country that could not be divided, so reunification is a historical trend and the aspiration of the people, Han added.

The isolation of Taiwan from the Mainland not only goes against the will of Dr Sun but also works against the interests of the people in Taiwan and on the Mainland, Han said. He hoped the Taiwan authorities would accept Beijing's proposed "one country, two systems" concept as a peaceful solution to the separation.

Addressing a New York rally, Consul-General Tang Xinbo recalled Sun's experiences in the United States as he retracted Sun's extensive travels there. Tang lauded the overseas Chinese and Americans who supported Sun in those days.

Tang said the Chinese should learn from Sun and work with overseas Chinese to reunify the motherland, to invigorate China and defend world peace.

After the rally, a feature film on Sun's life was shown and a photo exhibition on the first president was held.

Similar events are held by the Chinese consulate-general in Houston from 12 to 15 November.

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